

LIVERPOOL CLASSICAL MONTHLY (LCM) Vol.11 No.5 May 1986

Edited, printed and published at Liverpool by Dr J.Pinsent, Dept of Greek, The University, PO Box 147 Liverpool, L69 3BX, who is the sole proprietor, to whom, addressed by name, contributions on any subject of classical interest should be sent and subscriptions made payable, by name only.

RATES for 1986, 10 issues (not August and September)
SURFACE £5 UK, £6 Europe, \$(US)10 elsewhere.
AIR £7.50 Europe, \$(US)20 N.America, \$(US)25 Australasia.

CONTENTS, the copyright of which remains in each case with the author, and is so secured at the end of each article. The Editor retains copyright in the format.



Correspondence: MICHAEL CRAWFORD(University College, London)	65-66
JOHN HENDERSON(King's College, Cambridge): <i>Becoming a heroine (1st): Penelope's Ovid ... (continuing)</i>	67-70
D.WHITEHEAD(Manchester): <i>The measure of a millionaire: what Crassus really said.</i>	71-74
ANDRÉ S.GEROLYMATOS(McGill University, Montréal): <i>The proxenia of Alexander I of Makedonia</i>	75-76
JOHN M.FOSSEY(McGill University, Montréal): <i>A Demosthenic doublet (xiii, 22-24, & xxiii, 198-200)</i>	77-78
Review: E.RAWSON(Corpus Christi College, Oxford)	79-80
B.A.Marshall, <i>A Historical Commentary on Asconius</i> , Columbia, U. of Missouri Press, 1985. Pp.xiv + 342, cloth. ISBN 0-8262-0455-4	

In this month's LCM the Hendersonian saga is resumed: readers may be assisted in their understanding by this quotation from A.C.Danto's review of Derrida's *Margins of Philosophy* (1983) in *TLS* 30.8.83, 1035. 'But beyond this, the alarming comportment of the literary Derridianists does not encourage closer acquaintance, for these appear less to be pursuing an intellectual programme than displaying the grave symptoms of having swallowed a pharmakon: uttering gleeful obscurities, preferring puns to arguments, insinuating phallic motivations with broad Freudian winks, wallowing in impossible etymologies as a form of wit, and foregoing the sweet clarities of English for what look like transcriptions of primary processes — as though writing were a form of learned graffiti, a way of ruining paper. Acceptance seems to consist in imitation, as though style and substance were one.'

The Editor having received a letter on a matter close to his heart, is obliged to postpone the necessary corrections to Stuart W.Mannings article in LCM 11.3(Mar. 1985), 41-42, and curtail these notes in favour of

Correspondence: MICHAEL CRAWFORD(University College, London)

LCM 11.5(May.1986), 65-66

Sir: I write to say that I agree with you that the time has come for an open debate about the changes which are taking place in the pattern of Classics teaching in British universities. I should like to emphasize that what I have to say is purely a personal expression of opinion.

It seems to me important that any deliberations by the CUCD, and any action taken by individual departments, should not forget two dimensions which seem to have been relatively little discussed: the position of Classics in the schools, and the widespread interest in the ancient world which exists among the public at large. It is striking that Classics in this country is in a very different, and so far much more fortunate, position than in countries on the Continent, even those such as Italy with powerful national reasons for preserving Classics. A major source of our greater strength has been the extent to which we have been able to maintain solidarity with teachers of Classics in schools through JACT and other means. And my own immediate concern with these problems has arisen from the fact that the Roman Society, independent of the universities, is currently taking stock of ways in which it can strengthen Roman and Latin studies nationwide.

Moreover, even within the university sector, the CUCD by its very constitution only partially represents current teaching and research in Classics — see the many exclusions listed in *Classics Departments in British Universities* (1985), Appendices I and II; and even these appendices far from complete the picture,

66 since there are many individual classicists holding posts quite outside their purview: Sir Kenneth Dover, Richard Gordon, Roger Ling, Richard Sorabji and, until recently, Keith Hopkins are a few examples, but the phenomenon is widespread and important for the state of the subject. So the CUCD is not in my view in a position to pronounce on the future of Classics in universities, even if such a pronouncement were desirable.

In deciding whether too many graduates are being produced in a particular subject, the UGC in effect adopts the collective view of a sample of employers: there is at present no evidence whatever that anyone believes that too many graduates are being produced in classical subjects. Likewise, in recommending whether a university or department should have its number of FTEs cut back, the UGC criterion is essentially the A level grades of those admitted. Here again there is no evidence that the vast majority of classical departments is having any difficulty in finding an adequate number of students with A level grades which are acceptable, or, usually, much better.

Against this background I believe that while a small number of mergers or closures may be inevitable, they are to be regarded as an unmitigated evil and resisted by all means possible. In particular I find it alarming that talk about mergers seems to be creating the impression that they are in some sense official policy or even desirable. We should not accept what appears to be part of current thinking within the UGC, that there are *academic* grounds for rationalization. In some subjects and places, a department of two may be a centre of excellence. Rationalization may be a necessary evil, but it is in my view an evil.

Let us reflect on the likely consequence of the transfer of a Classics Department from one part of the country and its merging with a Classics Department in another. The joint department would lose those students who would have gone to the first university for a variety of personal reasons. Such people will be lost as potential students of Classics for ever, and I have no doubt that the effect of the creation of a smaller number of larger departments will be to lead even in the medium or short term to a net loss of posts. If we believe in our subject it is surely our duty to preserve at almost any cost opportunities for those now studying our subject.

The closure of a Classics Department will also mean that those in related disciplines in that university, mediaeval history, Renaissance political thought, European languages, etc. etc. will no longer have colleagues to whom they can turn for help or advice. A library will be fossilized or perhaps even disposed of, with all its implications both for such colleagues and for the subscription lists to learned journals.

It has also been the case that Classics Departments have been the core of local Classical Associations, providing venues for meetings, sources of advice, libraries, and much needed support for struggling teachers. Such departments also provide lecturers for evening classes and so on. One consequence of the processes which seem at the moment in some areas to be under way will be to leave large areas of the country without an academic classical presence and to generate further decline in the future.

If a Classics Department feels that with its present numbers it is unviable, I have no doubt that the right road to go down is to join with a larger arts department in the same university. Fears have been expressed that in such a context as this it would be easier for posts to be abolished. It may be that such a host department will now view the arrival of a Classics Department with justifiable suspicion as merely an instance of cupboard love, and will not necessarily feel particularly friendly. There has been a powerful tendency among classicists to claim for themselves a position of isolated superiority and too little interest in academic contact with related disciplines. How many of us in the past have sat on Faculty Boards or Boards of Studies in related fields, attended seminars given by our colleagues in related departments and so on? Where such links have been created, the rewards in strictly intellectual terms and in terms of the creation of a congenial context within which to work have been rich. It simply is empirically not the case that classicists within other departments to which they are seen to be contributing have been more under threat than classicists in departments of their own. Such links indeed often have been the basis of interdisciplinary advance in teaching and research. Our survival depends and depends rightly on the judgements our colleagues form of us, and it is by working with them rather than by creating new ghettos that we are likely to have a future.

JOHN HENDERSON(King's College, Cambridge): *Becoming a heroine (1st): Penelope's Ovid ... continued* 67

LCM 11.5(May 1986), 67-70

including the much-restored Vatican Penelope (Figure 1 (a), LCM 11.1[Jan.1986], 8, imperial; from Baumeister 2.1037); etc etc (Refs. in RE 19.487.27f., Roscher 3.1914f., Robertson, *Hist.Gk.Art* 2.651 n.96, and *Shorter Hist.Gk.Art* 211 n.40). What is 'in hand'? 'Cheek' is. Herewith Baumeister's comments: *Der Kopf dieser Statue ist zwar aufgesetzt, aber zugehörig. Mehrere Ergänzungen, insbesondere die rechte Hand, das rechte Bein, der linke Fuss sind richtig getroffen; nur der Fels, auf dem sie sitzt, ist erst durch moderne Bearbeitung entstanden ...* (2.1036f.).

There is an abiding penalty prepaid by re-viewers of Pennycopy, whose traces constantly unravel themselves: most of the lumps are disremembered and could be any bona fide *Weib* — *trauernde* or *penserosa* (if those are exclusive as well as all-inclusive labels; from RE 19.487) — . The exemplum becomes an exemplar of exemplariness in the logic of the paragon/paradigm/parergon/paradox: filled with meaningfulness, depleted of connotative context, periphron P. drifts around the thoughts and/or feelings, the careworn/careful proprieties of Woman's place, the present absence always already on the brink of entering the curculatory positioning brought by the Father. She means everything, the totality, Penates and Penetralia, patera/patina, and so nothing definite: most of our lumps may be PSed off or passionate, past it and past caring, who can say? They may be 'the grass widow Penelope', wondering what the Odyssey means and whether she's bothered, widowed, free, ready for Naso to go ovid the top (Pinocchiope), or they may be the daughter she never had, Electra, worrying whether a dead Dad is a dud, how she's to recognize her kid brother, if she suffers from her complex ... Men who can't tell their Penelope from the Electra have (artistic) problems, such is the expressivity of the blanched out *Weib* and her obscurartist proclivities (For the 'problem' cp. big Robertson 209f., Roscher 3.1914f.. P is often 'spotted' via her (?) wool-basket, *mit Sicherheit* ...).

A favourite creative moment from big Robertson 210: 'I have wondered if this mourning woman' (i.e. Figure 1 (b), LCM 11.1[Jan.1986], 8) 'might have stood for Hellas Unredeemed (perhaps in parable: Penelope or Electra waiting for Odysseus or Orestes to rescue her from her oppressors)'. That's what I call art history (for a 'Victory' in the PS.-'Penelope' position cp. ibid.212: a Peneloponnesian coin. For some mourners' 'bowed attitude ... the accepted attitude for sorrow' à la Pennymope cp. Richter, *Sculpt. and Sculp.* 80: Vaticana = fig.68). How (b) came to be pillaged in Persia, but re-duplicated in Rome is a melancholy story sadly beyond re-construction but abidingly a question of purloining the purloined: 'Perhaps the only case where we can be absolutely certain that a contemporary or near-contemporary duplicate was made of a classical Greek statue' (big Robertson 210: 'shortened' to 'The only incontrovertible evidence for an exact replica being made in classical times', 60) ... *exegi monumentum* ... Melpomene ... The question of sculpture, *culpa*, culture again is one of faithful reproduction of the faithful reproduction, exactly the question of exactness, Philofope. Copy, *coppia*.

Figure 3 (c) (LCM 11.3[Mar.1986], 40). Robertson had no *locus standi*: *Weib* 'stood for' nothing of the sort, nothing at all. She sits, understand, sedate, sits pretty: sitting for her picture, her likeness, a sitting-target, sitting-duck, *Anas Penelope*. Insidious subordination, the obsessive inferiority of the second sex-text, sat awaiting her master's pleasure, Paramourope. Trust, *tristesse*, tryst? (E.Goffman, *Gender advertising* 43, 'The Ritualization of Subordination'). Nope. Dopey.

Figure 3 (d) (LCM 11.3[Mar.1986], 40). This one sits still, sits, still; sits out this one, sedated, sedentary, siesta-session, bed-sitter, 'Ch'ha fatto alla sua guancia della sua palma, sospirando, *Letto* (Robertson 209). She is the question of *Weib*: *desidia*? *desiderium*? *Telecomachus* [off L.] loomed over Punylope (Figure 4 [on next p.], R.Dyer, *Stars*, fig.42, 'Greta Garbo as Queen Christina — the last shot', does stand for something, something specific, general, for everything: this is 'the most famous instance' of the way in which the performer is reducible to 'an instrument in the hands of the director' — the hands, the couch, palms/*Letto* — as Gorgo stands to take her bow on the bows: 'She stares ahead and into the wind which ruffles her hair. Much can be read into this shot — of resignation, melancholy, profound feeling. Yet it is well known that the director, Rubens Mouloulian, told Gargoyle to do nothing for this scene, and she did as she was told

Figure 4



(in itself, one should say, a considerable feat of performance). The meaning of her face in this shot thus derives entirely from its place in the film's narrative, the way it is shot, and the resonances of Gabor's image carried by her face', Dyer, *Stars* 163, quoting Bettetini). Renvoi to-and-or from peninsular Pylos ... Satellite in satin, saturnine Satrapy. Sloppy, Silly Henny-Penny.

Figure 2 (LCM 11.3 [Mar. 1986], 39.

'Dirck Hals, *Woman with a Letter*. The Philadelphia Museum of Art, John G. Johnson Collection (Svetlana Alpers)' fig 11 in S. Alpers, 'Art History and its Exclusions' in N. Broude and M. D. Garrard, *Feminism and Art History*, 191. For what Penelope thinks of my letter see ib. fig. 12. Penny Dreadful.

Figure 3 (LCM 11.3 [Mar. 1986], 40.

Gabriel Metsu, *The Letter Writer Surprised*. Reproduced by permission of The Trustees, the Wallace Collection, London', fig. 145 in S. Alpers, *The Art of Describing*, 202. Ib. fig. 140 for what Penelope thinks of my letter and pp. 192-207 for acute view of the 'act of reading as close looking' exemplified in letter-pictures, esp. 200, but cp. 'The letter paintings ... coincide almost exactly in date with a fashion for epistolary manuals ... they evolved into a kind of courtesy book for adults in which the love

letter was among the accepted categories ... There is indeed a question as to whether the pictures document social behaviour ... or illustrate the literary fictions created in the manuals ... The letters in the manuals ... initiate the literary tradition of the early epistolary form of the novel ... Letters, as Otto van Veen put it neatly (quoting Seneaca), are traces of love ... The prominence of the painted letters ... can of course be attributed partly to the level of literacy ... to the ... need to communicate with ... far-flung trading posts, and to the improved postal service of the time ...' (After a Peruvian tale of Bellerophon/Just-So-ish letters) 'This fascination with letters as both a secret way of communicating and a way of communicating secrets ... reveals the guilt ... of viewers who feel themselves to be voyeurs ... In at least one instance Metsu makes light of the situation of seeing as spying. His so-called' (n.b.) '*Letter Writer Surprised*' is really a letter-writer spied on. The woman with the letter does not realise that a gentleman is peering over her shoulder' (Of course she does) 'But it is Vermeer who perceives that the artist's own eye looking into his work plays this very role ...'.

Figure 4 (above) Stencilcope. Teichoscopy. Telescopy ... Cp. R. Barthes, *Mythologies* 56 'The face of Godot' 'In spite of its extreme beauty, this face, not drawn but sculpted in something smooth and fryable, that is, at once perfect and ephemeral ... Godard offered to one's gaze a sort of Platonic Idea of the human creature, which explains why her face is almost sexually undefined, without however leaving one in doubt. It is true that this film (in which Queen Christina is by turns a woman and a young cavalier) lends itself to this lack of differentiation; but Bardot does not perform in it any act of transvestism; she is always herself, and carries without pretence ... the same snowy solitary face ... the face of *Wapphoe*'.

Poe subtitled 'The Purloined Letter' with a bogus quotation from Ps.-Seneaca, *nil sapientiae odiosius acumine nimio* - at least all the participants faithfully purloin from each other the news that the quote is purloined. Our fate is to repeat the movement faithfully, always reproducing the edge of *acumen/acumen nimium*,

- impleuit uela secundis.*
- 6.728-9 *ut struerem . . . | . . . iussistis.* For the construction L. quotes Ovid, Dracontius, Iuuenius, Prudentius and Sidonius but not Cicero, Livy, Virgil, Curtius, Suetonius or Apuleius.
- 7.22 *uidet tenui candescere limen Eoo.* L. rightly understands *tenui Eoo* as ablative absolute. Cf. Ov. M.6.47-9 *solet aer | purpureus fieri, cum primum Aurora mouetur, | et breue post tempus candescere solis ab ortu.*
- 7.84-5 *serena arce.* L. accepts the statement of Baehrens that plain *arx* is not found elsewhere with the meaning of the heavens. Cf. Ov. F.5.34 *dum senior fatis excidit arce deus.*
- 7.87-8 *quae det responsa tyranno colligit.* L. understands *colligit* rightly as meaning 'deliberates' or 'collects in his mind'. But he quotes as other examples Hor. Sat.2.1.51 and Ep.2.1.119 where the word has a different meaning.
- 7.131-2 *quid me autem sic ille mouet superetne labores | an cadat.* Cf. Luc. 7.282-3 *Armeniosne mouet Romana potentia cuius | sit ducis*, Stat. T.10.232 *uacuo sub corde mouet qui molle domandi | ferre iugum.*
- 7.169 *in somnos . . . soluat.* L. quotes Ov. M.7.253 but not Virg. A.4.530.
- 7.258 *lacrimis haec infit obortis.* This use of *infit* with an accusative, which is unknown to P.G.W.Glare's *Oxford Latin Dictionary*, is said by L. to occur elsewhere only in Prudentius, Claudius Marius Victor., Iuuenius and Corippus. Cf. Apul. M.6.11.4 *Psychae Venus infit talia.*
- 7.273-4 *ne uota repellat, ne, mea.* Courtney cites Stat. T.4.512-3 *ne tenues annos . . . | spernite, ne, moneo* and A.1.392-3 *ne solum Danaas admitte carinas, | ne, precor* but not Virg. A.6.832 *ne, pueri, ne tanta animis adsuescite bella.*
- 7.294 *pudor aestuat.* Cf. Virg. A.10.870-1 *aestuat ingens | . . . pudor*, 12.666-7 *aestuat ingens | . . . pudor.*
- 7.400-1 *se . . . magistris impingit . . . pauor.* Cf. Sen. D.4.9.1. *quocumque uisum est libido se impingit*, H.F.991 *quo se caecus impegit furor.*
- 8.85-6 *omnem . . . fatigat uim Stygiam.* Cf. Plin. N.H.36.93 *fatigasse regni uires.*
- 8.90-1 *septem proiectus in amnes | Nilus.* L. quotes Aul. Orb.525 *hinc iacet in patulos proiecta Calabria campos.* Cf. Hygin. Fab. 14.1 *duo flumina . . . separatim proiecta in unum conueniunt.*
- 8.113 *perfertur ad ornum.* Cf. Virg. A.1.389 *te reginae ad limina perfer.*
- 8.117 *corripere laborem.* L. may be correct in saying that this expression, in which *laborem* means 'fruit of toil', is not found elsewhere. In Luc. 9.365 *abstulit arboribus pretium nemorique laborem* P.G.W.Glare's *Oxford Latin Dictionary* in spite of *pretium* and the following line takes *laborem* to mean not 'task' but 'a result or product of work'.
- 8.183-4 *altera ponti | eluctanda uia.* Cf. Corn. Severus 2 *per aspera nisu eluctanda uia est.*
- 8.312 *scelerum facies.* Cf. Virg. G.1.506 *multae scelerum facies.*
- 8.387-8 *quid se externa pro uirgine clausos | obiciat.* For *obiciat* without a dative L. cites Auson. Epigr. in Solonem 26 *pro patria pugnans iste uitam obiecerat* but not Virg. A.8.144-5 *me, me ipse meumque | obieci caput.*

Copyright © 1987 G.B.A.Fletcher.



ARGOS BUILDING THE SHIP ARGO.

NICHOLAS HORSFALL (Rome): *Two notes: 1. Horace, Carm.4.2.29: 2. CIL V.1**

LCM 12.10(Nov 1987), 136

1. Horace, *Carm.4.2.29*.

Etymological word-play in Horace, notably in *Carmina*, we know and love, or should, for in comparison with Virgil, Lucretius, Ovid, even Livy, there is miserably little bibliography. Unsurprisingly, in Book 4 such play is no longer confined to Greek (cf. 4.7.26 *liberat Hippolytum*, 4.11.3 *Phyllis . . . coronis*) and Latin (4.5.18 *alma . . . nutrit*), but involves other languages of Italy. Thus with 4.11.14ff. *idus tibi sunt agenda*, *quia dies mensem Veneris marinae* *findit Aprilem* cf. Macrobius 1.15.17 *iduae enim Etrusca lingua dividere est* and with 4.4.29f. *Nerones. fortes creantur fortibus et bonis* cf. Suetonius, *Tib.1 nero . . . quo significatur lingua Sabina fortis ac strenuus*. Thus far, familiar doctrine, even if gathering of the instances is new. One might ask whether Horace had here too as elsewhere (cf. V.Buchheit, *Vergil über die Sendung Roms* [Gymn. Beih.3, Heidelberg 1963], 171 n.92) fallen under the influence of the *Aeneid*; Horace needs his Bartelink (*Etymologiserend bij Vergilius, Meded.kon.Ned.Akad.Wet.afd.Lett.* NR 28.3, Amsterdam 1965). In the mean time, two other candidates, perhaps not strictly Italic, but solidly antiquarian in character, may be suggested: 4.1.27f. *pede candido* *in morem Salium ter quatent humum* evokes the metrically intractable *tripudiabunt*. 4.2.49 is obelized by Shackleton Bailey, who at least records in his apparatus Gow's *ioque dum procedit; io triumphe* continues Horace, *non semel dicemus, io triumphe*. It adds greatly to the appeal of Gow's correction that unwittingly he creates in Horace an extremely attractive etymological link between *triumphus* and 'three' (the threefold repetition of *io*). This connexion is probably false (H.Versnel, *Triumphus* [Leiden 1970], 18, etc.), but that never distracted ancient etymologists and the connexion here suggested was known to Suetonius (*Prata* p.147f. Reifferscheid = Isidore, *Orig.*18.2.3).

2. The will of Sergius the mime-actor? (CIL V.1*)

There are no prizes for dancing on the graves of *falsae*; *falsae* which persist in returning to life are another matter: CIL V.1* (*Testamentum ludicrum Sergii Polae*) = *Inscr.It.X.1.1** was championed as genuine by L.Herrmann (*Latomus* 17 [1958], 97) and B.Baldwin has recently revived this unlikely claim, twice (*Studi . . . C.Sanfilippo*, Catania 1982, 52 = *Studies on late Roman and Byzantine History, Literature and Language*, Amsterdam 1984, 148). Neither author considered the ample and damning treatment by Bruna Forlati Tamaro, *Inscr. It.X.1.268*. The text was first recorded by P.P.Vergerius (between 1402/4 - 1414) and it was the one inscription of Pola Felicianus did not take from Cyriac (aliter, Herrmann). It was suggested by F.Novati (ap. Forlati Tamarto) that the testament was in fact that of Sergio da Pola, a professional humourist, whose extant letters are of 1393 and 1396. The text is not epigraphic in style or epitaphic in manner (pace B.Ziliotto, *La cultura letteraria di Trieste*, Trieste 1923, 26f.) and examination of its language rules out both a late Republican date and the identification of *Sergius Polensis parasitus histrio vester* with Sergius the late Republican mime (Bonaria, *Fasti mimici*, no.312, Münzer, PW s.v. no.2). The text indeed does not necessarily (pace Herrmann) presuppose knowledge either of Sergius the mime or of the Roman *porta Sergia* at Pola (CIL V.50 = *Inscr.It.X.1.72*). The author knew Plautus (*litteratus*, 'covered with letters', *dicaculus* and the distinctive *supparasitor*), military prose (*turmatim*), the Vulgate (with *malleolo et celte litteratus silex* cf. Job 19.24 *vel clete sculpantur in silice*) and unsurprisingly Virgil, for *ab ore pendulos* presupposes *Aen.4.79 pendet . . . narrantis ab ore*. Analysts of late mediaeval prose will doubtless be able to shed further light, but classicists have not rediscovered a neglected sty-fellow for M. Grunnius Corocotta.

Copyright © 1987 Nicholas Horsfall.

D.WHITEHEAD (Manchester): *Greek coinage and political sovereignty - a protest*

LCM 12.10(Nov 1987), 136-138

f In LCM 12.6 (Jun.1987), 85-86, Ian A Carradice reviews Thomas R.Martin's *Sovereignty and Coinage in Classical Greece* (Princeton 1985). Professor Martin's book is a sustained attack, with particular reference to fourth-century Thessaly but also (and more importantly) in general terms, upon 'the reliance of scholars on a historical model which explains the minting of classical Greek and Macedonian coinages as primarily motivated by a desire on the part of the state to produce symbols of its political sovereignty' (Martin ix). Also, and necessarily, at stake is that model's corollary, that 'when scholars are confronted with a Greek coinage that ends at a time when the issuing state has been in some way subordinated politically to a more powerful state, the standard opinion on the relationship between sovereignty and coinage in the classical Greek world can serve as support for the assumption that the more powerful state suppressed the coinage of the less powerful state' (Martin 13). Dr Carradice declares himself broadly satisfied, at least for the pre-Hellenistic periods, that the

sovereignty and coinage theory - a theory with its roots (according to Martin) in late mediaeval political philosophy - is here successfully demolished, and the way thus opened for a renewed emphasis upon economic and practical considerations, at the expense of political ones, in the study of ancient Greek coinage. However, he implies in the process that to press such views is to push against an open door: "... it is questionable whether many serious scholars actually believe this theory. Its application to classical Greek coinage is obviously 'nineteenth century' [presumably a quotation from Martin 5]. M. sees it lurking behind many modern studies, but ... the nagging feeling that he is probably wrong in presuming that the sovereignty theory is still so influential makes his continual hammering away at it rather annoying'.

These are curious assertions. It would indeed be vexing if the unacknowledged (unexamined / unquestioned / unstated) assumption (generalization / idea / model / opinion / preconception / principle / view) against which Martin so relentlessly contends has been exhumed by him, for phoney polemical purposes, from some necropolis of defunct academic orthodoxies: and equally so if it were not so much defunct as discredited, lingering on, like Richard Crookback or 'L'État, c'est moi', only outside the well-locked gates of the ivory tower. In either of these circumstances, all of us save perhaps the historiographers of classical scholarship could then feel free not to bother assigning a high priority to assessing Martin's critique and the substantive question which it raises, namely, once the sovereignty and coinage theory is properly acknowledged, stated, examined and questioned, has it any validity.

But in fact Carradice's depiction of the current state of opinion - a once-prevailing doctrine no longer 'influential' except with scholars who are not to be accounted 'serious' - defies recognition. Martin's book itself, fortunately, eschews this sort of vague and lofty innuendo, being both unfailingly polite and fully documented. We are thereby able to discover that Carradice's 'serious' is not, as might have been suspected, code for numismatists as opposed to historians; for it turns out to be the views and principles of Colin Kraay, a scholar equally respected in both disciplines, which bear the brunt (especially in Chapter 8) of Martin's revisionism. A suspicion could well arise, on the other hand, that the chief villain of the piece is Sir Moses Finley, both in *propria persona* and as represented by a bevy of admirers and acolytes. However, one really need waste no time on such guessing games but simply read Martin and be informed or reminded of the great depth of recent and contemporary scholarly opinion which in whole or part endorses and applies the sovereignty and coinage model: M.M.Austin, A.R.Bellinger, J.Ducat, J.R.Ellis, M.I.Finley, P.Goukowsky, A.J.Graham, G.T.Griffith, N.G.L.Hammond, C.M.Kraay, A.Mastrocinque, J.M.F.May, C.Mossé, L.Robert (one of the most 'serious' scholars ever to draw breath), E.Schönert-Geiss, H.Seyrig, D.B.Shelov, M.Sordi, W.W.Tarn, P.Vidal-Naquet, H.D.Westlake, E.Will - to give only a partial list of those actually cited. No straw men they; and all the more credit to Martin if he can show that they, and those of us who believed them, are all wrong.

There is a further point, raised by Carradice's 'influential'. What sort of influence, exerted upon whom, are we considering here? At the immediate level scholars aim to influence each other; and no doubt a numismatist working in the British Museum could be forgiven for addressing the issue exclusively on those terms. Yet it is from the perspective of teaching rather than research that the impact of Martin's book, initially at least, may be most keenly felt. Consider the following statements, all drawn from recent works - some of them very recent indeed - which I for one (and I am surely not alone) have included on my 1987/8 undergraduate reading -lists:

(i) A.J.Graham, *Colony and Mother City in Ancient Greece* (Manchester 1964), 123: 'It is not difficult to show that from the fifth century one of the restrictions which could be imposed on the autonomy of a Greek state was to prevent it from issuing its own silver coinage. The clearest example is the famous Athenian currency decrees, which attempted to establish the coins of Athens as the sole silver coinage in the Athenian Empire. The corollary of this -that if a city issued silver coins it was autonomous - is probably true of the later Greek world. The issue of coins was a matter of political prestige ...'.

(ii) R.Meiggs, *The Athenian Empire* (Oxford 1972), 172-173: 'We may also suspect that Athens [sc. in passing the currency decree] was not thinking only in economic terms. The common Athenian coinage, together with common obligations to the Great Panathenaea, expressed the change from a Delian League to an Athenian Empire'.

(iii) M.I.Finley, *The Ancient Economy* (London 1973), 166: 'One monopoly which all ancient states retained, city or empire, was the right to coin'. See 166-169 as a whole (especially 169 on the currency decree: 'Athens was now able and willing to demonstrate who was master within the empire by denying the subject-states the traditional symbol of autonomy, their own coins'), and indeed elsewhere in Finley's *oeuvre*, *passim*; some refs. in Martin 197 n.2.

(iv) M.M.Austin and P.Vidal-Naquet, *Economic and Social History of Greece: an introduction* (London 1977), 56: 'Recent studies have renewed the conception historians had of the reasons for the invention and spread of coinage and have shifted the emphasis to the non-economic aspects of the process' (articles by Will, R.M.Cook, Kraay and Vidal-Naquet are cited). See 56-58 as a whole, especially 57 ('one must emphasize especially the development of civic consciousness: in the history of the Greek cities coinage was always first and foremost a civic emblem. To strike coins with the badge of the city

was to proclaim one's political independence'); and compare also 124-125 and 330-331.

(v) A.M.Snodgreass, *Archaic Greece: the age of experiment* (London 1980), 135: '... the prime function of early coinage was the political one of emphasizing the authority, or merely the independence, of the body that issued it. Economic functions were secondary and even incidental to this political one'.

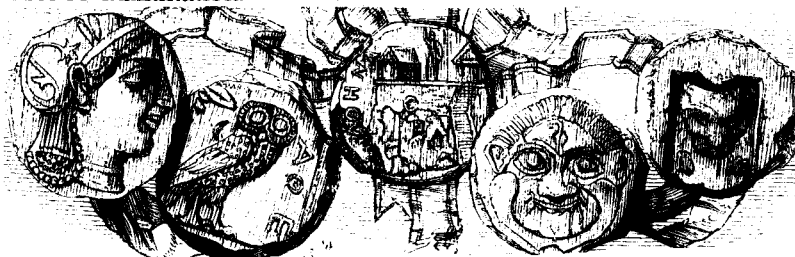
(vi) M.H.Crawford in M.H.Crawford (ed.), *Sources for Ancient History* (Cambridge 1983), 186: 'The use of coinage spread rapidly in the Greek world, perhaps largely because a Greek *polis* saw the possession of its own coinage as an important element of its autonomous administration'.

(vii) N.S.R.Hornblower in *The Athenian Empire* (LACTOR no.1, third edition, London 1984), 132 n.2: 'It is hard to determine whether this [currency] decree was intended to bring Athens financial and commercial advantages, or whether it was just a piece of political muscle-flexing (it was at least that, whatever else it was)'. See also 133 n.3 on the 375/4 currency decree, and the same author's remarks on Arkadian coinage in *The Greek World, 479-323 B.C.* (London 1983), 24.

(viii) J.A.C.T. *The World of Athens: an introduction to classical Athenian culture* (Cambridge 1984), 241: '... the true significance of the [currency] decree is political: Athens aimed further to diminish her allies' sovereignty by removing their right to strike coins bearing their city's badge'.

It will be obvious from these extracts, hastily and unsystematically brought together as they are, that, in addition to the Thessalian / Makedonian case study on which Martin himself concentrates, the two main contexts in which students routinely meet the sovereignty and coinage question are those of the initial *raison's d'être* of coinage as such, in the archaic period, and its role in fifth-century Athenian imperialism. On the first of these Martins 'Classical Greece' remit permits only a brief discussion, focussing on sources rather than modern doxography (214-216),^m but his treatment of the Athenian Coinage Decree is fuller (196-207) and deserves, as Carradice comments, serious consideration. 'It is certainly not my intent to deny that the Athenian Coinage Decree was an expression of the power of an imperial state over sovereign states', Martin writes (205); and to that extent it could be said that there is a difference not of kind but only of degree between his views and those of (e.g.) Meiggs and Hornblower, quoted above. Indeed, both for this specific issue and for the general one too, Carradice poses a key question: "if a coinage is being interpreted with reference to the political realities of its time, does this necessarily mean that the commentator is under the influence of a theoretical notion, that is, a belief in the 'right to coin' theory?". To put this another way: need acceptance of Martin's case that such a *theory* is an anachronistic retrojection onto the ancient world mean that 'a historical model seems preferable that posits practical economic concerns as the principal consideration in the minting of coinage in this period' (Martin ix)? Between these two extremes there may yet be room (and justification) for a conception of *polis* coinage in terms of, if not 'sovereignty', then at least communal identity and self-expression. But it is only in the light of Martin's genuinely heterodox book that this and all ancillary questions now call for re-examination.

Copyright © 1987 D.Whitehead.



JOHN FERGUSON (Selly Park, Birmingham): *Catullus 85*

LCM 12.9(Nov.1987) 138

I am not sure how many marks I would give Brian Arkins for his version of *odi et amo*, but he seems to me to have missed the point of the poem altogether. The poem is framed by two metrically similar four-syllable phrases *odi-et-amo* and *excrucior*, whose significance is identical except that the former is active, the latter passive. The translation 'am in agony' conveys neither the passive nor the identity of significance. The poem is not, as is usually thought, about the contrast between *odi* and *amo*, but about the contrast between *faciam*, active, and *fieri*, passive. Brian Arkins omits this altogether. He translates 'I loathe her. I lust for her' (7 words to render 3; 7 syllables for 4; hardly his claimed principles). This is precisely wrong. She does not enter into it at all. He is not concerned with the woman at all, only with his own feelings. The rest of the first line has some probably untranslatable effects. The language is seemingly casual and conversational, but there is a contrived chiasmus of alliteration *q - r - f - f - r - q*, and an obsessive repetition of sound *-ss-* and *se re* which suggest the literal meaning of *requiris*, 'keep asking'. The whole pivots on *nescio*, but the answer is concise, *fieri* corresponding to *faciam*, *excrucior* to *odi-et-amo*, and *sentio* to the rest; not of course just 'feel it true' but 'feel it true'. So, without trying for subtler effects, something more like:

I loathe; I lust. You keep asking perhaps why I do so?

I don't know. I feel it being done. I'm being racked.

Review: D.B.CAMPBELL (Glasgow)

LCM 12.9(Nov.1987) 139-140

W.S.Hanson, *Agricola and the Conquest of the North*, London, B.T.Batsford Ltd., 1987. Pp.210; 23 plates; 28 figs. Cloth, £17.95. ISBN 0 7134 0607 0

Without the *de vita Agricolae*, we should know a great deal less about the man and his governorship of Britain. To be sure, inscriptions from the province bear his name (he is, indeed, the first governor of Britain to be so attested) and he even rates two separate mentions in Cassius Dio's *Roman History*. Compare, for instance, his predecessor, Sex. Iulius Frontinus, whose presence in Britain rests upon a single Tacitean sentence, or again his successor, who remains anonymous. The name of Agricola, then, was always assured a place in the British *fasti*; his deeds are another matter.

It has often been said that, like Dr Johnson, Agricola was fortunate in his biographer. He was fortunate, too in his theatre of military operations. North Britain offered ample scope for the *vir militaris*; it had seen virtually no Roman troops before his advent, nor would it again for another fifty years. More importantly, the open countryside which his armies traversed has remained largely undisturbed by modern farming or urban development. The resulting opportunity to combine archaeological and historical data was exploited early on: Dr Hanson (henceforth H.) continues the tradition.

There has been no monograph on this subject since A.R.Burn's excellent little *Agricola and Roman Britain* in 1953. Nevertheless, Agricolan studies proceed apace. *Agricola and the Conquest of the North* comes hot on the heels of the long-awaited report of excavations at Inchtuthil, which the authors link with Agricola: L.F.Pitts & J.K.St.Joseph, *Inchtuthil. The Roman legionary fortress*, London 1985, especially 263-281. In fact, there is no shortage of authors willing to tackle this theme; apart from the steady stream of periodical literature and the stimulating collection of papers from the twelfth meeting of the Scottish Archaeological Forum (*Agricola's Campaigns in Scotland*, ed. J.Kenworthy, Edinburgh 1981), there is a clutch of more general works treating Agricola as a chapter-heading or subsection. Traditionally, the debate has been dominated by British scholars (the only exception which springs to mind is H.Heubner's *Kommentar zum Agricola des Tacitus*, Göttingen 1984, which is, in any case, largely indebted to Ogilvie & Richmond on historical and archaeological matters), but it has now spread to the continent: K.Strobel, *Historia* 36 (1987), 198-212. H. himself has, in recent years, expanded our archaeological knowledge of Flavian north Britain, particularly with his excavations at Corbridge and Croy Hill; his latest offering stands on the foundations of this earlier work.

The panegyric nature of the *de vita Agricolae* presents special problems of historical interpretation. There is the exaggeration and encomium expected in a *liber honori Agricolae destinatus*, and the plagiarism of stock themes (the 'good general', for instance) from previous writers. However, that's not all. Topographical details are notoriously lacking or, where provided, hopelessly cryptic. A case in point is *Trucculensis portus*: after an initial identification with Richborough, which still lingers on in some literature (e.g. C.E.Murgia, *CP* 72 [1977], 339), the port has been variously located at widely differing northern coastal sites: see A.L.F.Rivet & C.Smith, *The Place-names of Roman Britain*, London 1979, 478-480. Then there is the elusive *Mons Graupius*, and an equally alarming selection of candidates stretching from Perthshire to Caithness. Again, there is no conclusive evidence pending the archaeological discovery of the battlefield. In fact, arguing from Tacitus' text quickly becomes circular: the battle was fought *exacta iam aestate* (Agr.38.2) so it must have been far to the north, thus explaining the recurring theme of the *terminus Britanniae* and *finis terrarum* (e.g. Agr. 30.1; 30.3; 33.3; 33.6) and making a circumnavigation so late in the year more credible: thus A.A.R.Henderson, *Echos du Monde Classique* 4 (1985), 330-332, arguing for Caithness. On the other hand, and working in reverse, a circumnavigation *secunda tempestate* (Agr.38.4) cannot have succeeded much later than mid-September, so the battle must be brought forward into August or even July: thus Strobel, *op.cit.*, 199-203, who does not, however, attempt to locate *Mons Graupius*. An earlier battle, of course, demands a more southerly location: cf. J.G.F.Hind, *Northern History* 21 (1985), 13-14, arguing for Perthshire. Even when, in an unusually informative passage, Tacitus excites our hopes of locating Agricola's operations (as in Agr.23, and the establishment of *praesidia* between Clyde and Forth), archaeology simply complicates the picture (in this case providing at least two possible configurations of forts).

Determining the chronology of Agricola's seven-year British governorship is certainly the most difficult question. Like Jane Austen's *History of England*, there are very few dates in the *de vita Agricolae*, but where this is a benefit proudly advertised in the former, it becomes a source of perplexity in the latter. Agricola's governorship depends upon his consulship at one end and upon Domitian's Chatti war at the other, but neither event provides a precise date on which to hang the chronology. Most scholars argue for a consulship in A.D. 77, but 76 is possible: D.B.Campbell, *Zeitschr. f. Papyr. u. Epig.* 63 (197-200). Dating the conclusion of the governorship is equally difficult: Domitian probably celebrated his triumph over the Chatti in autumn A.D. 83, after which he received news of the

victory at Mons Graupius; but how long after? Opinion remains divided between fielding the final battle in A.D. 83 (and placing Agricola's arrival in A.D. 77) and in A.D. 84 (with his arrival in A.D. 78): the arguments for both are conveniently set out in Pitts & St. Joseph, *op. cit.*, 264-267. Not even the two changes of emperor at Rome and their presumed effects on Agricola's governorship can tie down the chronology, and the imperatorial acclamation which Domitian surely took after Mons Graupius remains elusive (despite Strobel, *op. cit.*, 208-209).

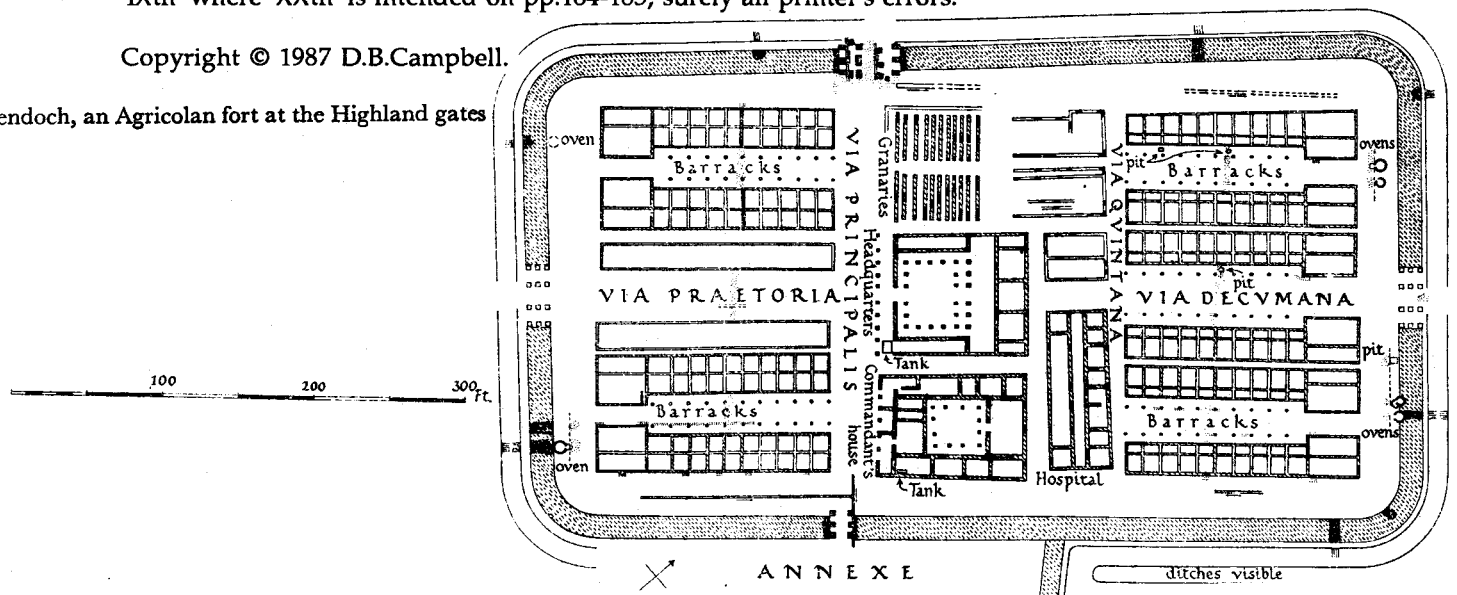
Agricola's sixth campaign raises an interesting problem when Tacitus describes *legio IX Hispana* as *maxime invalida* (Agr. 26). This is usually cited as evidence that it had contributed a vexillation for service in Domitian's Chattan war, though no chronological inference can be drawn since any troops destined for the German theatre could have departed in either A.D. 82 or 83. Although there may have been other reasons for the reduced size of the IXth during this campaign, it had in fact sent a vexillation in *expeditione Germanica* under the command of the tribune L. Roscius Aelianus (ILS 1025: A.R. Birley, *The Fasti of Roman Britain*, Oxford 1981, 270, for the dating of the vexillation). There is, however, no reason to suppose that other vexillations were drawn from Britain during Agricola's campaigns. The extraordinary *praeectura vexillarium legionum VIII(I)* of C. Velius Rufus (ILS 9200) is generally dated to A.D. 83 on the weighty authority of Ritterling; his argument, quite simply, rests on the desire to see Rufus' task-force composed of legions from as few provinces as possible; in A.D., 83, the units in question were all stationed in Britain and Germania Superior. However, Rufus' vexillationary command is better postponed until A.D. 89 and the *expeditio adversus Marcomannos et Quados et Sarmatas* of that year: thus K. Strobel, *Zeitschr. f. Papyr. u. Epigr.* 64 (1986), 276-280, following D. Kennedy, *Britannia* 14 (1983), 195-196, in this respect.

Returning to Agricola himself, few would now accept Tacitus' allegations that Domitian deliberately retarded Agricola's career out of fear and jealousy (Agr. 42). We need not go to the other extreme and argue, with Dorey (*Greece and Rome* 7 [1960], 66-71), for a warm friendship between emperor and legate. The truth would seem to lie somewhere in between. Agricola could reasonably have hoped for the proconsulship of Asia, judging by the others who held that post (H. Benario, *RhMus* 122 [1979], 168-170), but withdrew his candidature. The episode is innocent enough, but Tacitus distorts it to further his theme of the prudent and successful general halted in his prime by a cruel and jealous tyrant. It is tempting to draw a comparison with Belisarius and Justinian, but dangerous; the parallel is not entirely appropriate. Nevertheless, in the final analysis, cutting through Tacitus' innuendo, we are left with the picture, not of another Alexander or Caesar, but of a competent soldier and administrator, the picture drawn over thirty years ago by Burn, and rightly emphasized anew by H.

The preceding notes are of some relevance to *Agricola and the Conquest of the North*, reinforcing and supplementing points raised by H.'s text. There is nothing singular in his interpretation of Agricola's governorship, but that is no bad thing; he has for company the cream of scholarship. In any case, the book is clearly aimed at the undergraduate audience (although the price is surely not aimed at the student budget): Tacitus is quoted in English (largely from the Penguin edition), an introductory chapter is provided to explain the best sources of evidence, and a list of emperors and of governors of Britain is appended. Illustrations are profuse, and particular mention must be made of the splendid series of maps which accompany the text; unfortunately, many are presented as double-page spreads, thus losing the central strip in the binding. It is traditional for a reviewer to point out any shortcomings for the information of the prospective purchaser. It must be said that, apart from the absence of A.C. King's 1984 paper from the bibliography (cited on p. 170, it may be found in *Military and Civilian in Roman Britain*, edd. T.F.C. Blagg & A.C. King, Oxford 1984, 187-2127), errors are largely restricted to the typographical variety of which, despite their number, none seriously affects the text. However, it is, at first, alarming to find the *fora* at Verulamium and London labelled as 'early Flavian forts' (p. 75 fig. 9) and the Gask Ridge watch-towers as 'frontier towns' (p. 155 fig. 26); look out, also, for the recurring 'IXth' where 'XXth' is intended on pp. 184-185, surely all printer's errors.

Copyright © 1987 D.B. Campbell.

Fendoch, an Agricolan fort at the Highland gates



Review: C.MEE (Liverpool):

LCM 12.9(Nov.1987) 141

Robin Osborne, *Classical Landscape with Figures: The Ancient Greek City and its Countryside*, London, George Philip, 1987. Pp.216. Hardback, £19.50. ISBN 0-540-01111
Text, pp.8-197; bibliography, pp.198-211; index, pp.212-216.

A neglect of the countryside pervades ancient Greek literature and art. Dependent upon these sources, Classical scholars have tended to share the same attitude. Yet agriculture was the basis of the Greek economy: the countryside cannot be ignored. This is one of the main themes pursued in *Classical Landscape with Figures*. As the title implies, this is not a landscape devoid of human activity. The subtitle underlines the interdependence of the town and the countryside - this is in fact seen as a particular characteristic of the Greek city. To rescue the Greek countryside from oblivion, Osborne has had to call upon Classical literature, epigraphy, archaeology and anthropology. Mastery of this range of disciplines is not to be expected, but there is seldom an impression of uncertainty. Sometimes an argument is sustained on the basis of a less than exhaustive exposition of the available evidence, a weakness in that the diversity of the Greek city is rightly stressed. But this is not a series aimed at the academic scholar, so a certain superficiality is inevitable.

Chapter 1 underlines the paradox of a countryside which is largely ignored in literature and art but which supported and sustained even a Pericles. In Chapter 2 the geology of Greece is briefly described and the effects of the climate examined. Inter-annual fluctuations in rainfall discouraged agricultural specialization and there is evidence that individuals acquired and cultivated scattered plots of land so as to further minimize the risk of crop failure. Agricultural technology is outlined and an attempt is made to assess cereal productivity and the role of pastoralism.

Chapter 3 analyses settlement patterns and draws extensively on recent intensive archaeological surveys which may yet illuminate the Dark Ages - Osborne's pessimism on this point is premature. The function of towers is considered, and there is an excellent section on the epigraphic evidence which demonstrates how land might be owned and exploited. Chapter 4 examines mining, particularly in terms of the perception of the countryside which an industry on the scale of the Attic or Thasian might engender. Stone quarries were not as important a resource, but prompt some judicious illustrations.

Self-sufficiency may have been the aim of the Greek city and citizen, but shortfalls were inevitable and these could only be met through some form of exchange. Chapter 5 considers the consequences especially of the Athenian need for imported grain. The prospect of starvation might have prompted more effective exchange mechanisms, yet paradoxically Greek cities favoured a strictly subsistence economy which actually suppressed trade. Specialist agricultural produce could be marketed, but wine production on Thasos appears to have jeopardized the status of the farmers concerned. The chapter ends with a section on the trade in luxuries which perversely concentrates on decorated pottery, an inexpensive commodity.

The correlation between agricultural regime and political constitution is the main theme of Chapter 6. Arcadian Orchomenos and Sparta represent oligarchy, which is seen as 'divisive of settlement'. Diversity characterizes the democratic cities - Thasos, Athens and Elis - but a political rather than environmental explanation is adduced. The consequences of external political pressures on the settlement history of a city are nicely illustrated by the trials and tribulations of Thespiiai.

Warfare is the subject of chapter 7. Traditional Greek warfare concentrated on the capture of agricultural produce rather than cities. the hoplite phalanx suited this type of conflict. But in the late fifth century the rules were changed. Campaigns lasted longer, cities were attacked, fortifications were improved. These developments undermined the role of the hoplite and consequently the political influence of the farmers from whose ranks the hoplites were drawn.

The link between agriculture and religion is intrinsic. The agricultural year shaped the religious calendar, the countryside provided animal victims for sacrifice and thereby 'put the farmer at the centre of civilised life'. But it is Osborne's contention, in chapter 8, that a change can be perceived in the Greek attitude to the role of the countryside in religion. In the Geometric and Early Archaic periods animal figurines were common dedications in sanctuaries, whereas in the Late Archaic and Classical periods there is a preference for anthropomorphic votives. The cults of Dionysus and especially Pan promoted 'a countryside which was outside civilisation . . . a countryside which was wild'. That perceptions of the countryside did change there can be no doubt, but Osborne has conveniently overlooked chronological discrepancies in the evidence which he presents in support of this hypotheses.

The Epilogue effectively contrasts the Greek, Roman and Mediaeval city. The comparatively primitive economy of the ancient Greek city, and the consequently crucial role of the countryside, is reiterated. In an earlier, but unacknowledged, *Classical Landscape with Figures*, by Osbert Lancaster, it is stated that 'in Greece the inhabitants are part of the landscape'. For making us more aware of that landscape Osborne must be congratulated.

Review: P.MURGATROYD (Natal)

LCM 12.9(Nov.1987) 142

A.J.Podlecki, *The Early Greek Poets and Their Times*, Vancouver, University of British Columbia Press, 1984. Pp.282, hard covers, £22.75. ISBN 0-7748-0193-X.

In his preface Podlecki states: 'it is my firm conviction that these early Greek poets cannot be appreciated fully, or even, in some cases, understood at all, apart from the socio-historical milieus in which they worked: conversely, the poetry often has new and interesting light to shed on the historical currents of the archaic age in Greece. This, then, is not primarily a book about the poetry, or even the poets as such, but about them as important historical figures . . . ; about the times in which they lived and wrote; about the events in which they participated; and about what they had to say on the subject of these historically interesting and important happenings.'. Podlecki pursues this programme (especially its latter, non-literary, aspects) in eight chapters devoted successively to Homer, Hesiod and the Homeric Hymns; Archilochus, Callinus and Mimnermus; Alcaeus and Sappho; Terpander, Tytaeus and Alcman; Solon and Theognis; Stesichorus, Ibycus and Xenophanes; Anacreon and Simonides; Pindar and Bacchylides. A concluding chapter touches on the subsequent decline of lyric and elegy and presents a brief survey of the writers covered. There is also a bibliography, a general index, and an index of passages alluded to or discussed.

Unreasonably severe verdicts have been and probably will continue to be passed on this book. Professional critics, particularly those whose field is early Greek poetry, will find various things to carp at, such as the absence of footnotes, the presence of questionable affirmations, the infrequency of detailed treatment of minutiae and the frequency with which significant works of scholarship are passed over in silence. Such assertions (e.g. concerning Homeric influence on Sappho 1 PLF on p.85 and the relative literary importance of Stesichorus and Ibycus on p.163) can be irritating; and such omissions can seriously flaw discussion (as when on pp.164f. Podlecki simply writes off Ibycus 282 PMG as an inept and insipid Homeric cento without raising alternative interpretations or mentioning there or on p.263 Page, *Aegyptus* 31 [1951], 158ff., Bowra, *Greek Lyric Poetry* [Oxford 1961], 250ff. or Sisti, *QUCC* 4 [1967], 59ff.). So too some sections, especially those on Hesiod, Sappho and Ibycus, are rather cursory and unilluminating, and there are many misprints (p.1, lines 20 & 21; 21.23; 23.29; 72.11; 83.17ff.; 84.7; 102.26; 119.19; 122.36; 147.5ff.; 156.6 & 11; 162.23; 176.6; 214.35; 217.9; 263.27). However, the less expert readers at whom this book is mainly aimed will find it a generally readable and reliable guide to the poems' and poets' historical background. The nature of the audience envisaged, which includes beginners and those without Greek, imposes obvious restrictions and requirements. For a work of so broad a scope to be manageable for such a readership, skimming, selectiveness and unsupported pronouncements are unavoidable. Major difficulties are certainly not ignored, but one's progress is not impeded by minor problems or distracting footnotes; and lovers of controversy can always consult the bibliography. The advantages of such a system can be best seen in the author's flowing account of Lesbian politics and Alcaeus' involvement in them (chapter 3). He also includes a map, an overview, in the preface, of the poets handled, and explanatory remarks in the bibliography (which is usefully tied in to specific chapters and topics) as aids to clarity. Podlecki has studied a great mass of secondary material, and his historical and literary comments are on the whole admirably sane and judicious, while his full sections on Solon and Archilochus are decidedly helpful. Actual errors are few and fairly minor, such as the misuse of 'aposiopesis' on p.164 and the mistranslations on p.163 (in Ibycus 287.7 PMG, significantly, the horse does in fact go), 175 ('vainly' for Anacreon's *νηλέως*) and 177 ('Lethae' instead of 'Lethaeus'). In addition, all poems and fragments cited are translated, and reference is often made to available translations of related literature, so that the book is suitable for Classical Civilization students and some general readers. In short, this should be welcomed as a type of work for which there is a distinct need today - one which is well written and well researched and which, without being superficially 'pop', will reach a wide audience.

Copyright © 1987 P.Murgatroyd.

RICHARD SEAFORD (Exeter): Silenus erectus: *Euripides*, *Cyclops* 227. LCM 12.9(Nov.1987) 142-143

My thanks are due to my colleague David Harvey for his learned improvement of this note.

Reviewers of my *Euripides Cyclops* have accused me of imagining sexual meanings unintended by Euripides (e.g. David Bain in *TLS* 84 [1985], 209). By way of a response, I here detect a sexual meaning which I missed in my Commentary.

Polyphemus has returned to his cave to find the Greeks about to make off with his lambs and cheese. Silenos, who has just bartered them for wine, pretends that he tried to prevent a robbery. But before he can say anything Polyphemus describes him as *πληγαῖς πρόσωπον φαλακρόν ἐξωιδηκότα* (227), 'with his bald face swollen up with blows'. But Silenos has not in fact been beaten. It is true that

he may have been pretending agony. But Polyphemos refers specifically to swelling, and so in my Commentary I suggested, implausibly, that the swelling had been caused by the wine earlier given him by Odysseus. Another problem is presented by the ms. πρόσωπον, which is generally replaced by μέτωπον (Tyrwhitt, followed by Diggle), for it is Silenos' forehead, not his face, that is bald. But both these problems can be solved by supposing an obscene meaning.

In the famous depiction of a satyric chorus, roughly contemporary with the Cyclops, on the 'Pronomos Vase' (ARV² 1336.1), the satyrs have erect phalli whereas Silenos' is limp. When Odysseus gives Silenos a taste of the wine that he proposes to barter for Polyphemos' silence, Silenos excitedly imagines the erection that goes with drinking (169 ἔν' ἔστι τουτί τ' ὄρθον ἐξανιστάναί). He then enters the cave to fetch the lambs and cheese, and when he emerges (188) his limp phallus will, I believe, have been replaced by an erect one (for this change in comedy see J.Henderson, *The Maculate Muse*, 111). Polyphemos then returns. Now Polyphemos in this play is unfamiliar with both women and wine. It is natural that he should imagine, on seeing for the first time Silenos' erection (ἐξωιδηκότα), that it results from 'beating' (πληγαῖς), for it is in similar terms (*pace* Bain) that the giant describes his own masturbation (see my commentary on 327-8, and such modern expressions as βαράω 'beat, masturbate'). As for πρόσωπον, the penis is frequently represented by the Greeks as a face (see E.g. Keuls, *The Reign of the Phallus*, figs. 69, 76-7, 80, cf. 63, 64; G.Devereux, *Dreams in Greek Tragedy*, 33-36). Compare for example the modern κεφάλι or κεφαλή meaning penis. The delightful ambiguity of φαλακρόν (and perhaps a pun, brought out by intonation, on φαλλόν ἄκρον) may be present elsewhere in satyric drama (Aeschylus, *Diktyoulokoí* 788; cf. 795!; Sophocles, *Ichneutai* 368). Compare Ewen Bowie's conjecture φωλίωι for πωλίωι at Aristophanes, *Vesp.* 189, which he generously permits me to publish here: Philokleon's bald head, as he clings on under the ass, is compared to its (erect) penis.

I suspect that πρόσωπον was a polite expression for penis or phallus. That would suit Polyphemos' ludicrous refinement in this play (see my Introduction, 52-6), and may conceivably be relevant to Thucydides' description of the mutilation of the Hermæ as περιεκόπησαν τὰ πρόσωπα (6.27.1; cf. Aristophanes, *Lys.* 1094; I am not blind to the difficulties in this suggestion). If πρόσωπον could mean penis or phallus, then Polyphemos intends the sexual meaning, but the ambiguity of his refined speech is ludicrously misunderstood, or ingeniously exploited, by Silenos, who pretends to have been beaten up (228). If on the other hand πρόσωπον could not have that meaning, then Polyphemos is responding to a deceitful show of agony by Silenos (and ἐξωιδηκότα remains problematic). In that case the sexual sense is a *double entendre*, better served by πρόσωπον than the more specific μέτωπον.

Copyright © 1987 Richard Seaford.

MICHAEL VICKERS (Ashmolean Museum, Oxford): *Lambdacism at Aristophanes Clouds* 1381-2

LCM 12.10(Nov 1987), 143

In 1826 J.W.Süvern, *Ueber Aristophanes Wolken* (Berlin 1826), made the interesting suggestion that when Strepsiades reminds Phidippides at *Clouds* 1381 of his childhood lisp, Aristophanes was making an allusion to Alcibiades' speech impediment. Recent commentators on the *Clouds* have ignored Süvern's observation. More seriously, perhaps, they appear to have overlooked an old story to the effect that it was owing to the machinations of Alcibiades that Aristophanes failed to win first prize for the *Clouds*¹. But whether or not Alcibiades was being guyed at 1381, the impediment which Strepsiades describes with the word τραυλίζοντος is identical with that with which Alcibiades was afflicted. κλασανχευέται τε καὶ τραυλίζεται - 'he bends his neck and doesn't know his "r"s from his "l"s' (Archippus 45), - it was said of Alcibiades' own son who, much later, deliberately imitated his father's gait and diction (Plutarch, *Alc.* 1.7). Alcibiades' speech impediment took the form of lambdacism and had already in 424 been characterized by Aristophanes at *Wasps* 44-8 (cf. Plutarch, *Alc.* 1.6-7). There, Alcibiades is made to say, τραυλίσας, ὁλᾶς Θεώλον; τὴν κεφαλὴν κόλακος ἔχει, where ὁλᾶς, 'see' is pronounced ὁλᾶς, Theorus is called Theolus and instead of κόραξ 'raven' is called κόλαξ 'flatterer'. In line 1382, Strepsiades apparently quotes the way in which his infant son had asked for a drink, βρῦν². If, however, he spoke τραυλίζων, the word may have sounded as πλῦν, 'give me a good telling off' (cf. LSJ s.v. πλύνω, II 'as a slang term πλύνειν τινα give him a dressing, abuse...') To follow this with 'I brought you a drink' would be both unexpected and amusing. This is not the place to speculate as to whether Alcibiades is present throughout the rest of the play (as he seems to be in others³), but Süvern has shown elsewhere in his essay that the chances are high.

Copyright © 1987 Michael Vickers.

¹Arg. *Nub.* 10: '... πολλοὺς γὰρ εἶχεν ἐραστὰς ἐκείνος [ὁ Σωκράτης] καὶ μάλιστα τοὺς περὶ Ἀλκιβιάδην, οἱ καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ δράματος τούτου μὴδὲ νικῆσαι ἐποίησαν τὸν ποιητὴν.

²Said by a scholiast to be an ἄσχημος φωνὴ ἢ τῶν παίδων, ὁ πότ' ἂν πιεῖν ζητῇ (D.Holwerda, ed., *Scholia vetera in Nubes* [Groningen 1977] ad 1382.

³Cf. the writer's 'Alcibiades on stage: *Philoctetes* and *Cyclops*', *Historia* 36 (1987), 171-97; 'Alcibiades on stage: *Thesmophoriazusae* and *Helen*' (in preparation.).

R.G.LEWIS (Edinburgh): Verse and terse

LCM 12.10(Nov 1987), 144

Gallicists and collectors of *carmina epigraphica* may care to note two inscriptions, not identified as verse in any previous edition available to me, and certainly not by the latest editor, P.Wuilleumier in *Inscriptions de Trois Gaules* (Gallia Suppl.17 [1963]). Both are painted graffiti, W.'s nos. 154 and 313.

154

.... FECI VETERANUS
.... MUNERE MILITIE
.... ES NT

Found in 1902 at Angoulême in the territory of the Santones, Aquitania, in a rampart. Taken into the local museum but now lost. Ochre lettering 6.5 to 3.5 cm.; plaque 0.54 x 0.47 m.. A.Héron de la Villefosse, *Congrès d'Arch.* lxxix (1917), 94-103; C.Jullian, *REA* 1914, 347, the former not available to me. The orthography might suggest a fairly late date.

313

ARDOMIXA GEMIT

Large red painted letters. G.Jeanton, *BCTH* 1925 [not 1924, as in W.], 142, for ARDOMIXA prints ARDONIXA. Since even then the inscription was already lost, and he had to rely on a copy of one Jules Quicherat and the comments of A.Arcelin, *Essai de la classification des stations préhistoriques du département de Saône et Loire* (*Congrès scientifique d'Autun*, 1876), i. 168, and neither is available to me, I cannot be certain of the correct reading. Quicherat dated the lettering to the second century A.D.. The site was Les Bouteaux (Prissé), in the territory of the Aedui, where survival at this date of an unparalleled Gallic name among people who had adopted Latin and its verse forms (whether this is from a hexameter or a pentameter) should cause no surprise: Romanization had its limits. The lack of Roman nomenclature, however, in this context, especially since it is incomplete, is no proof of peregrine status. In our relatively extensive verse inscriptions from Gaul, both Comata and Narbonensis, mostly epitaphs, *gemere* and its cognates appear to be strangely rare. On a quick survey I have noted only CIL XII. 2702; 2094 [A.D. 579, Christian]; XIII. 2313; cf. 2397; 7105 (*ingemis*); 2219 (*gemitus*).

Also evidently in verse and ignored as such by W., but so identified by R.Chévalier, *BCTH* 1957, 140, is W.s 310 bis.

310 bis

.... NESCIT HABE[?R]
.... RETAS LONGEVO T[empore?]
.... [tu]MOLO CARMENE
.... VETAS HIC SUM M
..... IAMAUSI

The piece is late, and designated Christian by W.

Copyright © 1987 R.G.Lewis.

CORRESPONDENCE: from Professor H.D.Jocelyn, Departments of Greek and Latin,
University of Manchester, Oxford Road, Manchester, M13 9PL.

Sir,

Mr Hooker might with some justice have asked what right your reviewer had to pass the sort of judgements he did (*LCM* 12,7 [July 1987], 108) on the Greek scholarship of Housman and his English contemporaries. As to the question actually asked (*ibid.* 12.8 [October 1987], 225), its real import is elusive. If Mr Hooker has read with any attention the apparatus to the Manilius and the papers collected by Diggle and Goodyear, he can hardly be unaware of how well Housman knew the ancient Greek language and its literature or of how greatly his approach to problems in this area differed from, say, that of R. C. Jebb. I confess that my review of Brink's book said both too much and too little on the issue.

I am your most humble and obedient servant

H. D. Jocelyn.

Trinity

East Front of the Master's Lodge in 1740
After Bentley's changes, from a print 1739-40



purloining its reproducibility as it reproduces us as its purloined. In a letter, 69 Seneca wrote *quid inquiris an Penelopa inpudica fuerit, an uerba saeculo suo derit? an Ulixem illum esse quam uidebat, antequam sciret, suspicata sit? doce me quid sit pudicitia et quantum in ea bonum, in corpore an in animo posita sit* (88. 8 in my copy). Seneca, Scaenica, Obscaena. Imagine him taking Joyce's camera to the Vaticana and see Figure 5.

Figure 5



«La, regardez-moi la, durant cet entretien»

Popsy is on-set, set-up for the upset of his onset, Groupy. Set up in his temple, Metope. The Singer's Penpal, φ.

Ψept. 85

Ibid., The Same

Post-face

Tepee. The Senecan "'Great Message' ... taught that husband and wife were to cleave together. The main injunction regarding sex-roles was, in essence, that men were to toil in the fields and women were to conceive and obey ..." (P.R.Sanday, *Female Power and Male Dominance*, 142).

The logic of the 'cp' borders on that of the 'pc', recapitulating the logic of the 'con-text', in many respects. If the postcard seems to speak an abbreviated reference to its provenience, limited by its script, signature and postmark and pictured on its other side, if it seeks to confer on its letters a precious presence, then the comparison wishes also to achieve this status of contextualizing constraint upon letters while itself escaping from such constraints, wants to be the operator of a control on sense itself abbreviated away from its condition of literality towards 'gestural' notation, the silent claim to be an operator (op, cp, φ, null set). But 'Every sign ... can be cited, put between quotation marks; thereby it can break with every given context, and engender infinitely new contexts in an absolutely nonsaturable fashion.' (J.Derrida, *Margins of Philosophy*, 320). We can find in the cp the generalized fraudulence of the copy, in some respects. The principle I have in mind is that *Principe Postal*, that 'false concealment' which allows such concepts — and indeed all concepts, signs, operators, to make their mark on the world, the 'transparent opacity' which permits language to operate in 'anonymity', denying its own status as problematic interloper (M. Pierssens, *The Power of Babel*, viii). The original (Penelope) is always already a copy, a copy of the copy (Penelope); her status as an ideal and her role in language give her a 'subjectivity' and subject her to 'citationality'. Every comparison brings with it bias toward the assimilative and effacement of the difference which similarity brings with it. The 'deference' which copy shows to original, comparison shows to original, comparison shows to ap-proximation, juxtapositioning, coupling. We could find this force in con-parison in its preference for 'like', par, pair ..., over 'para-', the extra, wrong, besides, irregular, modified, supplement, and we could hear the rhetorical strain in the definition

Figure 5 Cover illustration of YFS 63(1982) 'The Pedagogical Imperative: Teaching as a Literary Genre'. Frontispiece by F.Chaveau for the 1666 edition of *L'Ecole des Femmes* (Bibliothèque de l'Arсенal, Fonds Rondel), reprinted from the *Nouveaux Petits Classiques Larousse* edition, with the permission of the Librairie Larousse.

Toupee touché. Here, Seneca demonstrates The Pose Vaticinant to Pedagogope. She hears him well, well enough, deadpan Pinny. She overhears her overseer, Modelope, understands her understudy — his autogamy, autolatry, autotypy, Autoscopy and Otoscopy. As his copy, she is his autophony, his undertaking overtaken. Epopee, Onomatopy. Not simply to be positioned as Pupilope, nor settled as Polly-Tropy, she can figure for her stand-in (Punchinellope) as the setting for the *legon*, reading, of reading, all that he could learn from Syncope: the literality of the -copy, -c-p-, cp. (Cp. Post-face, below). Set in his ways,

70 of τὸ πῶριον as the 'almost equal, evenly balanced ... exactly balanced and even, ... parallel in structure' (LSJ, my underlining)? Sync.-copy, Parallelope. It should now be clear in context that this belongs to PCPS (PC-PS, PCΦS, PCΨ; ΠΣPS, RSRS ...).

Not to mention, Paralipomena: ...

παράλειπόμενη, *Weib*, Being left behind, left in as left out, Ovoid's woman-letter rounding out Homer with the lacuna of woman's place, *The Story of P*.

A Note on Sources (Decidated to the fairfax name of Pat Easterling).

The story of P of course has no beginning, the origins are lost. 'P ... presents probably a greater number of unsolved etymological problems than any other letter' ... 'Actually the third largest initial [letter], being surpassed only by s and c with which it forms a triad of gigantic letters, which include nearly a third of all the words in the dictionary' (*OED* 'Compact' ed. 2049; 'Microscopy'). This, the (re-)source of English language (and others), is a poetic monument to the mobility of the signifier, the openness of citation, to the postal relay of significance, to the 'postcard' 'slips' it was con-piled on, to the cp's which enable the dictionary to operate anonymously, putting a name to no propositions: the *OED* introduces readers to the principles of purloining on its title-page, where it purloins from itself its own title, its name itself (*Ibid.* viii 'On the cover of the section containing *Deceit* to *Deject* ... above the title, appeared for the first time the designation 'The Oxford English Dictionary' ... The abbreviation *OED* tends to supplant *NED* ... *HED* ... never attained general currency. Popularly the work is often referred to as Murray's; and the Philological Society by a natural tradition has continued to call it 'the Society's Dictionary' ...'). The Philological Society's *NED* or the Clarendon Press's *OED*? Encyclope, Pinakope.

The book begins its preface thus, 'If there is any truth in the old Greek maxim that a *large* book is a *great* evil ...', at once the 'false concealment' of the Purloined Letter and the feigned speech of fiction: not a 'maxim' but a citation of Callimachus, deviser of the first catalogue raisonné in the History of the West, lexicographer and poet, a citation of a fragment of uncertain location (465 Pf.), a fragment which is Callimachus' most famous 'quotation' but which has had both its context and its text purloined from it in the process of its citation (τὸ μέγα βιβλίον ἴσον ἔλεγεν εἶναι τῷ μεγάλῳ κακῷ). In the *OED* recitation as in the abbreviated citation of Athenaeus' epitomator (in *init.* lb. III p.72A ὅτι ὁ Καλλίμαχος ὁ γραμματικὸς τὸ κτλ, cp Pfeiffer ad loc.), the 'point' is purloined from the quotation in quoting it — whatever it ever 'meant' (*Si ad unam aliquam rem Callimachus spectavit, ex Athenaei epitoma id divinari nequit*, *ibid.*; "Callimachus stood for a distinctive literary viewpoint. It is familiarly expressed in one of the most famous anecdotes of antiquity, recorded by Athenaeus (2.72a): 'Callimachus the schoolteacher used to say that a big book is equivalent to a big evil.' The remark is slightly puzzling. It may be an aesthetic judgment ... It may be a librarian's comment ... It may be a schoolteacher's comment ...", "But it could *equally* well have been a thought tossed off in conversation, and it is better to admit our ignorance.", J.Ferguson, *Callimachus*, 26f., 158).

The old attempts to restore the quotation's poetic force by metrical re-writing are now abandoned, but I would like to profit from the wording of the citation (ἴσον) to restore the 'point' of the fragment, its cp. and its πῶριον: μέγα βιβλίον· μέγα κακόν, or, given the laws of equivalence, the πῶριον as an operator — μέγα κακόν· μέγα βιβλίον. Here the punctuation may comment on the citationality of the Homeric cliché μέγα κακόν, con-paring similarly-framed phrases (ἴσον). The pungency of the fragment is now its poetic exploitation of the lexical entry as a creative mode of writing, with the concision of the abbreviation (·, cp), the classicism of Homeric re-citation, the mock-crudity of its folkish abuse (μέγα κακόν), the bookishness of Alexandrian learning (μέγα βιβλίον), the dryness of its academic ped-entry (πίνυκας), the productivity of the letter-sound-sign-patterns in semantic con-struction (πῶριον) ... In this fragmen is to be found the uncanny incertitudes of literarity as citation, the poetry of the dictionary (Con-sider the Borgesian con-plication for the *OED* that Callimachus' Catalogue re-cited the first line of every book in its Library ...).

D. WHITEHEAD (Manchester): *The measure of a millionaire: what Crassus really said.*
LCM 11.5 (May 1986), 71-74

71

Longstanding readers of LCM will recollect that the lion's share of issue 3.6 (Jun. 1978) was given over to articles, and the report of a discussion, about various 'problems in the career of Crassus' — the cognomen, unsurprisingly, designating there (as it does here) M. Licinius P. f. Crassus, *cos.* 70 and 55 B.C.. The contributors, who included Crassus' most recent biographers B. A. Marshall and A. M. Ward, were for the most part concerned with matters of some substance, by the side of which the 'problem' which I wish to pursue now is a molehill in anybody's landscape. I propose, nonetheless, to make at least a small mountain out of it, in the hope of restoring some rigour to the treatment and interpretation of a maxim which has been cited too often and too inaccurately for its own good.

Consider the following four quotations: 'Crassus was in the habit of observing that nobody should be called rich who was not able to maintain an army on his income' (R. Syme, *The Roman Revolution* [Oxford, 1939], p. 12); '... the *bon mot* had emerged that no-one was rich unless he could pay a legion out of his income ...' (M. H. Crawford, *The Roman Republic* [London/Brighton and Atlantic Highlands, 1978], p. 180); '... Crassus remarked that no one might be called wealthy who could not pay an army out of his fortune ...' (W. M. Beard and M. H. Crawford, *Rome in the Late Republic: problems and interpretations* [London, 1985], p. 8); 'wealth, as M. Crassus had implied, was no use unless one could arm a legion' (E. Badian, *Publicans and Sinners* [Oxford, 1972], p. 116).

The obvious and understandable appeal of Crassus' aphorism for writers on the late Republic — more instances are given below — is plainly matched by their inability to agree on a canonical version of it. Of course, such divergences would be no more than a passing irritation if responsibility for them were found to be confined to modern scholars; however, as has quite frequently (though perhaps not frequently enough) been pointed out, where the discrepancies occur is in the sources themselves. Five passages, which I give here in chronological order, are at issue:

(1) Cicero, *Paradoxa Stoicorum* (VI) 45: *multi ex te audierunt cum diceres neminem esse divitem nisi qui exercitum alere posset suis fructibus, quod populus Romanus tantis vectigalibus iam pridem vix potest.* (Commentators agree that Crassus is the imaginary interlocutor here. H. Rackham's objection to this in his introduction to the *Parad. Stoic.*, Loeb Cicero *de oratore* book III, etc., p. 253, is based on the ludicrous misapprehension that Crassus was not a senator — cf. on this A. M. Ward, *Marcus Crassus and the Late Roman Republic* [Columbia Mo., 1977], p. 71 n. 45 — and is in any case contradicted by Rackham himself in his note *b ad loc.*).

(2) Cicero, *de officiis* I. 25: *... nuper M. Crassus negabat ullam satis magnam pecuniam esse ei qui in re publica princeps vellet esse, cuius fructibus exercitum alere non possit.*

(3) Pliny, *Natural History* XXXIII (47) 134: *... M. Crassus negabat locupletem esse nisi qui redditu annuo legionem tueri posset.*

(4) Plutarch, *Crassus* 2.9: *... τὸ μὴδὲνα νομίζειν μὴδὲ ἀφαιεῖν εἶναι πλούσιον, ὃς οὐ δύναται τρέφειν ἀπὸ τῆς οὐσίας στρατόπεδον ...*

(5) Dio XL 27.3 (on Crassus' death): *... ὡς πένητας οἰκτεῖρειν τοὺς μὴ δυναμένους στρατόπεδον ἐκ καταλόγου οἰκοδεν τρέφειν.*

The underlined words and phrases highlight the two variables: (i) army or legion, and (ii) income or property.

Re (i), the Latin distinction between *exercitus* (Cicero, both times) and *legio* (Pliny) is naturally clearcut. At to their Greek equivalents: Plutarch made an early acquaintance with the word *legio* and regularly rendered it as *τάγμα* (see *imprimis* Otho 12.4 with C. P. Jones, *Plutarch and Rome* [Oxford, 1971], pp. 72-3 on the date of the *Lives of the Caesars*; cf. for specific examples *Caesar* 19.5 [τὸ δέκατον *τάγμα*], *Pompey* 6.6, *Crassus* 10.2, etc. etc.); in Dio 'στρατόπεδον ... vel *legio* vel *exercitus* est' (G. Vrind, *De Cassii Dionis vocabulis quae ad ius publicum pertinent* [The Hague, 1923], p. 108 n. 260a). Plutarch's version of Crassus' dictum thus definitely refers it to an army, Dio's either to an army or (as in the Loeb translation) an 'enrolled legion'.

Re (ii), again the Latin is unproblematical (*fructibus, redditu annuo*) but the Greek vague. I concede, of course, the possibility that Plutarch's *ἀνὰ τῆς οὐσίας* and/or Dio's *οἰκονομῶν* might in fact mean '(income from) property'; and modern scholars who use such terms as 'fortune' (Beard/Crawford, *loc.cit.*), 'wealth' (Badian, *loc.cit.*) or 'resources' (F.E.Adcock, *Marcus Crassus, Millionaire* [Cambridge, 1966], p.22) are equally entitled, if they wish, to be understood as meaning the same, especially once one examines any sources they may cite (cf. in this regard E.S.Gruen, *The Last Generation of the Roman Republic* [Berkeley etc., 1974], p.67, cf. 377). The fact remains, though, that a substantive ambiguity is introduced thereby; for it is one thing to maintain troops out of the income from assets, and quite another — one not requiring those holdings necessarily to be anything like as extensive — actually to sell or otherwise dispose of such assets (or to take out loans on their security) in order to do so.

Theoretically, then, Crassus' definition of wealth is presented both by the sources and by modern scholars in four different permutations. Wealth is said to have to be sufficient to permit the maintenance of: a legion from property (LP); a legion from income (LI); an army from property (AP); any army from income (AI). Which is correct?

In practice I imagine it will be agreed that both the LP and the AP formulations can be discarded without much further ado, on the grounds that none of our five ancient citations give either of them unambiguously and the three earliest ones positively contradict them. To do this is, in effect, to set aside the two Greek versions, those of Plutarch and Dio, as providing no authentic alternative to the clear agreement of Cicero and Pliny (who are otherwise at variance with each other) that Crassus was speaking of the scope and use of a rich man's *income*. Admittedly, the fact that Crassus apparently delivered himself of the remark on several occasions and/or to large gatherings (*negabat in de off.* and Pliny; *multi ex te audierunt in Parad.Stoic.*) leaves open the nagging possibility of variation and inconsistency at source; but it will take a reasoned effort on the part of some scholar, rather than an unhelpfully vague form of words, to turn this into a proposition demanding serious consideration.

So we are left with LI (i.e. Pliny) and AI (i.e. Cicero). The former is preferred by, for instance, Badian (*loc.cit.* with p.156 n.159, and earlier in *Roman Imperialism in the Late Republic* [Pretoria, 1967], p.73 with n.20, and *Athenaeum* ns48[1970], p.7), T.J.Cadoux (*Greece and Rome* ns3[1956], p.161), F.R.Cowell (*Cicero and the Roman Republic* [London, 1948], p.87), Crawford (*loc.cit.*), H.H.Scullyard (*From the Gracchi to Nero*³ [London, 1970], p.182) and D.L.Stockton (*Cicero: a political biography* [Oxford, 1971], p.72) explicitly, and probably also — rather than LP — by Gruen (*loc.cit.*). The latter is favoured by, for instance, P.A.Brunet (*Social Conflicts in the Roman Republic* [London, 1971], p.17), A.Garzetti (*Athenaeum* ns19[1941], p.10), M.Gelzer (*Caesar, Politician and Statesman* [Oxford, 1968], p.40; cf. *RE* 13 [1926], col.300), G.E.M.de Ste.Croix (*The Class Struggle in the Ancient Greek World* [London, 1981], p.176, with p.574 n.8), Syme (*loc.cit.*) and Ward (*op.cit.* pp.68-9) explicitly, and probably also — rather than AP — by Adcock (*loc.cit.*) Beard/Crawford (*loc.cit.*), E.Gabba (*Appiani Bellorum Civilium liber primus* [Florence, 1958], p.326) and B.A.Marshall (*Crassus: a political biography* [Amsterdam, 1976], p.29, and earlier in *Athenaeum* ns51[1973], pp.116-118). If we leave aside those scholars who cite the sources not at all (Brunet, Cowell, Crawford, Scullyard), cite them partially and/or undifferentiatingly (Beard/Crawford, Cadoux, Gabba, Gruen, Stockton), or differentiate in passing only (Syme), we are left, in the way of useful discussion on the point, with Adcock, Garzetti, Gelzer (esp. *RE*), Marshall, de Ste Croix and Ward as spokesmen for Cicero's version, and Badian as the sole champion of Pliny's.

If the choice to be made is considered first within the terms to which we have so far confined ourselves here, that is, as a question of *Quellenkritik*, I would suggest that the burden of proof lies upon anyone seeking to dispute the authenticity of the testimony of Cicero. His is the earliest report of Crassus' dictum, and — not a decisive point, but one to be kept in mind — he gives it twice over. What is more, as Gelzer and Garzetti pointed out, Cicero's *de off.*

version deserves particular consideration as being the only one to give the remark a specifically political colouring (*qui in re publica princeps vellet esse*), instead of making it — as do Pliny, Plutarch, Dio and the majority of modern scholars — a definition of wealth *per se*. To be convinced, as Gelzer was, 'dass Cicero mit der erwähnten Formulierung Crassus' innersten Gedanken zutreffend wiedergab, mag dieser ihn gelegentlich wirklich so geäußert haben oder nicht' may in the end amount to an act of faith (and one which arguably underestimates Cicero's capacity for spite and mischief-making), but any reluctance to join him in making it must fall short of jettisoning Cicero's formulation *tout court* in favour of Pliny's, which loses in contemporaneity what it may gain in detachment.

On what grounds, then, could Pliny's version (LI) possibly be held to prevail? For this we must turn to Badian. Badian has repeatedly declared Pliny's 'the most precise version' (thus *Roman Imperialism* and *Athenaeum loc.cit.*, though cf. 'most accurately (perhaps)' in *Publicans and Sinners*, p.156 n.159). However, Marshall has justifiably asked *why* Badian asserts this (*Athenaeum loc.cit.*, p.117 n.36, and *Crassus* p.45 n.26); and the only answer I can see is that he equates precision with limitation ('den beschränkten Umfang', Gelzer) — a legion being smaller than an army, hence sharper focus. For an altogether different way of characterizing Pliny's version notice Syme, *loc.cit.* n.2: 'in a milder form'. At all events Badian had no more to say on the subject in 1967.

By 1970, however, when he returned to the question, it had taken on a new dimension, with the revival by Adcock (*loc.cit.*) and I. Schatzman (*Athenaeum* ns46 [1968], p.350) of the idea, originally put forward by Garzetti and partially endorsed by Gabba, that the six new legions which Appian *BC* I 118 says Crassus recruited in 72 for the campaign against Spartacus were maintained at his own expense. For Adcock this notion drew extra support from the fact, hitherto unremarked upon, that 'six legions' was precisely how Cicero, in the continuation of the *Parad.Stoic.* passage, went on to specify as the *exercitus* which the rich man's income should be able to support (*ergo hoc proposito numquam eris dives ante quam tibi ex tuis possessionibus tantum reficietur ut eo tueri sex legiones et magna equitum ac peditum auxilia possis*); and this link has since been taken by Marshall and Ward as corroboration both for Crassus' personal maintenance of these six legions and also for the authenticity of the Ciceronian (AI) version of Crassus' dictum (cf. also, for the latter, de Ste Croix, *loc.cit.*).

Badian's response to this, in 1970, eschewed explicit discussion of the *Parad.Stoic.* passage and concentrated on the substantive issue of Crassus' financial resources, which he felt to be insufficient in 72-71 to maintain six legions (and thus to give rise, *then*, to 'his famous definition of a rich man'). The most that Badian was willing to concede, with Gabba, was partial financing by Crassus, which 'may have helped to give him the idea for his later dictum'. Marshall and Ward, however, both believe in private financing of all six legions, and Ward (*op.cit.* p.69 n.40) has offered a series of calculations designed to show that 'even if Crassus had not acquired quite half of the 7,100 talents he was worth in 55 (Plut. *Crass.* 2.2), he could have supported six legions for a year without seriously diminishing his wealth. What he could not have handled from income could have been met with loans'. This last point comes close to selling the pass, given that *income*, very precisely, is the resource in question. Otherwise, though, Ward's case is even stronger than he presents it, because the six legions did not need to be supported 'for a year': the campaign was over in six months (Appian *BC* I 121). It must be acknowledged that more than one key element in any calculation like Ward's, notably stipendiary rates and actual as opposed to nominal strengths of legions in this period, is a matter of some dispute or obscurity in itself; but even so the nub of the issue is disagreement not about what six legions cost but about whether Crassus at the time could have afforded it. Badian reckons that by 72-71 he had made little headway in the financial progress charted by Plutarch (*Crass.* 2), from the 300-talent man of 87 B.C. to the consul of 55 whose accounts showed assets of 7,100 talents even after a year of stupendous outlay. This may be so; yet for all we know of Crassus' wealth and the uses to which he put it (see in

74

general I. Shatzman, *Senatorial Wealth and Roman Politics*, Coll. Latomus 142 [Brussels, 1975], pp. 375-8, cf. 116-122 and passim) it is a view which must remain supposititious.

On the face of things, then, the join between Appian *BC* I 118 and Cicero *Parad. Stoic.* (VI) 45 is a neat one, allowing everything to fall into place: Crassus pays out of his own income for the six extra legions needed — for six months, in the event — against Spartacus in 72-71; in subsequent years he dines out on the maxim that any aspiring *princeps* who could not do the same was playing, both financially and politically, out of his league; Cicero reports this very faithfully in *Parad. Stoic.*, more summarily in *de off.*; and the rest is anecdotal history (with Pliny, for reasons which remain inexplicable, contributing unnecessary confusion to it). There is, however, a complication, which becomes immediately apparent if we return to *Parad. Stoic.* 45. What Adcock, Marshall, Ward and de Ste. Croix all fail to mention is how the passage goes on. Here it is in its entirety:

multi ex te audierunt cum diceret neminem esse divitem nisi qui exercitum alere posset suis fructibus, quod populus Romanus tantis vectigalibus iam pridem vix potest. ergo hoc proposito numquam eris dives ante quam tibi ex tuis possessionibus tantum reficietur ut eo tueri sex legiones et magna equitum ac peditum auxilia possis. iam fateris igitur non esse te divitem, cui tantum desit ut expleas id quod exoptas. itaque istam paupertatem vel potius egestatem ac mendicitatem tuam numquam obscure tulisti.

Your definition of a rich man, says Cicero to the imaginary (indeed, dead) Crassus, is well-known; and it follows from it that you yourself will never be such a man until the return on your holdings is sufficient to permit you, with it, to maintain six legions and plenty of auxiliary cavalry and infantry. You thus admit now that you are not rich, as you fall so far short of the ability to accomplish what you desire — so that you have never made a secret of your poverty, or rather your beggarly destitution.

The sarcasm in the final sentence is heavy, of course — though not conspicuously so, in a work which is confessedly playful (*prooem.* 3: *ludens*) and deliberately rhetorical (ib. 5: *oratorium dicendi genus*) — but the penultimate sentence appears to be straightforward enough. By Crassus' own quantification of his definition (I take *fateris igitur* as support for de Ste. Croix's statement that the quantification was made by Crassus himself rather than being a gloss of Cicero's) he failed to meet it, having proved not, as he had hoped, able but UNable to maintain such an army. From this we seem obliged to draw one of only two possible conclusions. One is that Crassus' dictum did not in fact refer specifically to the events of 72-71 but was instead either entirely hypothetical — emphasizing its point by insisting that an 'army' should be at least twice the size of a normal consular army of the period (for which see P. A. Brunt, *Italian Manpower 225 B.C. - A.D. 14* [Oxford, 1971], index s.v. 'consular armies'; one can scarcely follow editors of the *Parad. Stoic.* — see for instance A. G. Lee, *M. Tulli Ciceronis Paradoxa Stoicorum* [London, 1953], p. 85, and J. Molager, *Cicéron, les paradoxes des Stoiciens* [Bude edition, Paris, 1971], p. 150 — in suggesting this very passage to be an indication of a six-legion norm) — or else made in reference to some other actual episode. Unless, however, this passage is added to the already confusing testimony concerning the size of Crassus' army in 54-53 (see Brunt, *op. cit.* pp. 461-3: seven or more probably eight legions), no such episode can be readily adduced. We may therefore prefer to keep 72-71 in mind and entertain the alternative possibility, which is closer to the view of Gabba and Badian but casts it into a different and in many ways more intriguing light: that Crassus on that occasion had indeed set out to finance his six new legions personally but found himself in the event unable to do so. In this scenario (just as in the other) he is of course unlikely to have ventured any aphorism on the subject until a time, long afterwards, when by common consent his wealth was proverbial in itself, and when — had he lived to hear it — he would not have thanked Cicero for the malicious reminder of a half-forgotten humiliation.

ANDRÉ S. GEROLYMATOS (McGill University, Montréal): *The proxenia of Alexandros I of Makedonia* 75
LCM 11.5(May 1986), 75-76

One of the earliest grants of *proxenia* in the 5th century B.C. was given to Alexandros I of Makedonia (Hdt.8.136). Unfortunately, the decree itself has not survived and consequently there has been some disagreement among scholars over the exact date of the award. M.B.Wallace (1970:199-200) — and M.B.Walbank (1970:66) agrees with him in this — assigns Alexandros' *proxenia* to the late 480s and argues that it coincided with the Themistoklean ship-building programme. An earlier date for Alexandros' acceptance of the award, according to Wallace, would have offended Persia directly. On the other hand, Geyer (1930:44), Lombardo (1931:480-484) and Hammond (*OCD*² s.v. 'Alexander (1) I') argue for a date after the Persian wars. The problem is further compounded by Demosthenes, who refers to a king of Makedonia, Perdikkas, receiving Athenian citizenship for attacking the Persian army after its retreat from Plataia (Dem.23.200), while in another passage ([Dem.]13.24) he states that Perdikkas was not given citizenship but only *atelia* from the Athenians for the same deed. The confusion in this passage ([Dem.]13.24) stems from a reference in the previous sentence to Meno of Pharsalos who is granted *atelia* but not Athenian citizenship¹. It is reasonable to assume that the Makedonian king would have been granted Athenian citizenship and not *atelia* as it would have been a pointless gesture to award a monarch from a foreign state freedom from taxation. Demosthenes, furthermore, is certainly wrong about the name of the Makedonian king since, according to Herodotos (9.45-46; 9.89.4) and Thukydides (1.57.2; 2.99.6) Alexandros was the king of Makedonia and it was the Thrakians who fell upon the retreating Persian army after Plataia. Regardless of the confusion over the name, however, the grant of *atelia* is commonly an adjunct of the award of *proxenia*, but this is not the case with the granting of citizenship. As a result, it could be inferred that Alexandros was given Athenian citizenship.

If we accept an earlier date we must consider how Alexandros, the ruler of a country subjugated to Persia, could have accepted an award from the Athenians prior to the defeat of Mardonios and not have offended the Great King. It seems likely that there did not exist a direct vassal and king relationship between the King of Makedonia and the Great King of Persia. This, to some degree, is attested by the repeated acts of submission performed by Amyntas and Alexandros for the Persian monarch. According to Herodotos (5.18-21), Amyntas first submitted to Persia c.510 B.C. when Darios sent Megabazos to conquer North-Eastern Greece. At the beginning of the first Persian war Darios despatched Mardonios to attack Athens and Eretria through the north-east, and the Makedonians had once again to submit (Hdt.6.44.1). According to Hammond (1979:99), however, Herodotos is suggesting that Makedonia had managed to break away from Persian domination, and this is why a second submission was required from the Makedonian King. A more plausible explanation could be that Herodotos is trying to explain, in a clumsy fashion, that the Persians demanded another submission partly because Makedonia had a new king, for Alexandros had succeeded Amyntas in c.495 B., and partly as a reassurance for continued acceptance of Persian domination. In 480 B.C., furthermore, when Xerxes and his army reached Greece, envoys were again sent to demand earth and water from the Greeks, except from the Athenians and Spartans (Hdt.7.130-135). One explanation for the repeated acts of submission by the Greeks is that the Persians did not trust the new subject states to accept Persian hegemony since the relationship of the Greek states with the Persian Empire had not yet solidified into one of 'vassals' and 'overlord'. As such, it was necessary for the Persians to require of their subject states a demonstration of their loyalty before any major campaign in the region of these states. This would have been particularly relevant during a period in which the Persian Empire faced severe set-backs with the destruction of their fleet off Mount Athos, the defeat of a Persian army at Marathon, a serious rebellion in Egypt, and the death of Darios and the succession of a new monarch in 486 B.C..

1. For further discussion of the textual problem see the following note by John M.Fossey.

76 Indeed, the period between the accession of Xerxes and the beginning of the second Persian war represents the most opportune time for Alexandros and Athens to establish better relations. Xerxes, the new Persian king, needed time to assert his control over the empire, and had to face a serious challenge to his throne from his brother Ariamenes in Baktria (Plout.*Reg. imp. apophtheg.* 173B; *de fraterno amore* 488D ff.; *Themistokl.* 14.3). Xerxes was the youngest son of Darios, but since he was born after Darios had assumed the crown of Persia and was also the son of Atossa, the daughter of Kyros, he was chosen by Darios over his other sons as the legitimate heir to the throne (Hdt. 7.3). Despite this, however, Xerxes was, at least in the early months of his reign, vulnerable and had to deal with Ariamenes. Even more important was the rebellion in Egypt which he also had to settle. Ariamenes was won over by gifts and the promise that he would be second in the kingdom, and Egypt was finally secured in 484 B.C. (Hdt. 7.7). It is possible, then, that between 486 and 484 B.C. Alexandros felt sufficiently independent of Persian control to accept the award of *proxenia*.

Another consideration, which may indicate a date for the *proxenia* of Alexandros prior to 479 B.C., is the sequence of events described by Herodotos to account for the actions of the Makedonian king during this period. As Wallace suggests, Herodotos is well informed about Alexandros and it seems that the language he employs may be a paraphrase of the official decree. According to the passage in Herodotos (8.136), Alexandros is described as *proxenos* and *evergetis* of the Athenians when he is sent by Mardonios in the winter of 480-479 B.C. to offer the Athenians a separate peace. Herodotos, moreover, informs us that Mardonios chose to send Alexandros for two reasons. First, he was connected with the Persians by marriage, for Butanes, a Persian noble, was married to Alexandros' sister; secondly, Mardonios deliberately picked Alexandros as the Persian envoy because he was an Athenian *proxenos*. It is these two attributes which make Alexandros particularly suitable as the representative of Persia. As the brother-in-law of a Persian noble, Alexandros might be, to a certain extent, trusted by Mardonios to present the Persian offer fairly, and as an Athenian *proxenos* it was certain that he would at least be taken seriously by the Athenians, who would be more inclined to listen to the counsel of their guest-friend and accept the Persian offer.

The events after Mardonios' peace proposal, moreover, seem to justify the notion that Alexandros had a certain degree of credibility with the Athenians. According to Herodotos (9.45-46), just before the engagement at Plataia, Alexandros secretly rode up to the Greek lines and informed them of the Persian order of battle. This event, however, is dismissed by Bury and Meiggs (1979:184) as being improbable; what gives it a ring of truth, however, is that of all the Greek armies present at Plataia it was the Athenians to whom Alexandros went directly. Logically, Alexandros should have transmitted his information to the Spartans. This would have guaranteed that his information would reach Pausanias, the Commander-in-Chief of the combined Greek armies, as quickly as possible. Indeed, Alexandros told the Athenians to keep the information about the Persian plans secret from everyone except Pausanias (Hdt. 9.45.7). Does Herodotos imply that Pausanias could only count on the Athenians to keep a secret and not his own soldiers? This does not seem very likely. A more plausible explanation is that Alexandros was confident that his information would be accepted as reliable by the Athenians, whereas the other Greeks might have been very sceptical of what a subject ally told them. The Athenians, however, would have good reason to trust Alexandros if he was their *proxenos*.

We can assume, furthermore, that in the course of the Themistoklean ship-building programme the Athenians had initiated good relations with Makedonia and established some kind of diplomatic contact by granting its king the title of *proxenos*. After the Persian war the Athenians awarded Alexandros additional honours by giving him citizenship, partly to reward the Makedonian king to his services at Plataia and, more importantly, to ensure the continued flow of timber for the Athenian fleet. This would explain the comments of Demosthenes, and assign the date of Alexandros' *proxenia* to the middle of the 480s.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Bury, J.B. and Meiggs, R., 1978: *A History of Greece*, Hong Kong.
 Geyer, F., 1930: 'Makedonien bis zur Thronbesteigung Philipps II', *Historische Zeitschrift*, Beiheft 19, 1-139.
 Hammond, N.G.L. and Scullard, H.H., editors, 1970: *The Oxford Classical Dictionary* (OCD²), Oxford.
 Lombardo, G., 1972: 'Alessandro filelleno', *Rivista di Filologia e di Istruzione Classica* 9, 480-484.
 Walbank, M.B., 1978: *Athenian Proxenies of the Fifth Century B.C.*, Toronto and Sarasota.
 Wallace, M.B., 1970: 'Early Greek proxenoi', *Phoenix* vol.24, 189-208

JOHN M.FOSSEY(McGill University, Montréal): *A Demosthenic doublet (xiii, 22-24, 77 & xxiii, 198-200)*

LCM 11.5(May 1986), 77-78

καὶ γὰρ τοὶ τῶν ἔργων οὐδενος, ὧς ἄνδρες
Ἀθηναῖοι, τῶν τότε ἀπεστέρησαν αὐτούς,
οὐδ' ἔστ' οὐδεὶς ὅστις ἂν εἴποι τὴν ἐν
Σαλαμῖνι ναυμαχίαν θεμιστοκλέους ἀλλ'
Ἀθηναίων, οὐδὲ τὴν [ἐν] Μαραθῶνι μάχην
Μιλτιάδου, ἀλλὰ τῆς πόλεως. νῦν δὲ —
πολλοὶ τοῦτο λέγουσιν
ὡς Κέρκυραν εἴλε Τιμόθεος καὶ τὴν μόραν
κατέκολεν Ἰφικράτης καὶ τὴν περὶ Νάξου
ναυμαχίαν ἐνίκᾳ Χαβρίας· δοκεῖτε γὰρ
αὐτοὶ τῶν ἔργων τούτων παραχωρεῖν τῶν
τιμῶν ταῖς ὑπερβολαῖς αἷς δεδῶκατ' ἐπ'
αὐτοῖς ἐκάστω τούτων. τὰς μὲν δὴ
πολιτικὰς δωρεὰς οὕτως ἐκεῖνοί τε καλῶς
καὶ
ἡμεῖς οὐκ ὀρθῶς· τὰς δὲ τῶν ξένων πῶς;
ἐκεῖνοί Μένωνι τῷ Φαρσαλίῳ δώδεκα μὲν
τάλαντ' ἀργυρίου δόντι πρὸς τὸν ἐπ' Ἡρόνι
τῇ πρὸς Ἀμφιπόλει πόλεμον, διακοσίοις
δ' ἱππεύσι πενέσταις ἰδίῳις βοηθήσαντι,
οὐκ ἐληφρίσαντο —————
πολιτείαν, ἀλλ' ἀτέλειαν ἔδωκαν
μόνον.
καὶ πρότερον τούτου Περόδικα τῷ κατὰ τὴν
βαρβάρου ποτ' ἐπιστρατεῖαν βασιλεύοντι
Μακεδονίας, τοὺς ἀναχωροῦντας ἐκ
Πλαταιῶν τῶν βαρβάρων ἀπὸ τῆς ἡττῆς
διαφθείραντι καὶ τέλειον τάττυγμα
ποιήσαντι τῷ βασιλεῖ, οὐκ ἐληφρίσαντο
—————
πολιτείαν
ἀλλ' ἀτέλειαν ἔδωκαν μόνον, μεγάλην καὶ
τιμίαν, οἷμαι, καὶ σεμνὴν τὴν αὐτῶν
πατρίδ' ἡγούμενοι καὶ πάσης μείζον
εὐεργεσίας.
νῦν δ', ὧς ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι.....
[Dem.] xiii, 22-24

καὶ γὰρ τοὶ τῶν ἔργων τῶν τότε, ἄνδρες
Ἀθηναῖοι, οὐδενὸς ἀπεστέρησαν ἑαυτούς,
οὐδ' ἔστιν οὐδεὶς ὅστις ἂν εἴποι τὴν ἐν
Σαλαμῖνι ναυμαχίαν θεμιστοκλέους ἀλλ'
Ἀθηναίων, οὐδὲ τὴν [ἐν] Μαραθῶνι μάχην
Μιλτιάδου, ἀλλὰ τῆς πόλεως. νῦν δ', ὧς
ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, πολλοὶ τοῦτο λέγουσιν,
ὡς Κέρκυραν εἴλε Τιμόθεος καὶ τὴν μόραν
κατέκολεν Ἰφικράτης καὶ τὴν περὶ Νάξου
ἐνίκᾳ ναυμαχίαν Χαβρίας· δοκεῖτε γὰρ
αὐτοὶ τῶν ἔργων τούτων παραχωρεῖν τῶν
τιμῶν ταῖς ὑπερβολαῖς αἷς δεδῶκατ' ἐπ'
αὐτοῖς ἐκάστω τούτων. τὰς μὲν δὴ
πολιτικὰς δωρεὰς οὕτως ἐκεῖνοί τε καλῶς
καὶ λυσιτελοῦντως αὐτοῖς ἐδίδοσαν καὶ
ἡμεῖς οὐκ ὀρθῶς· τὰς δὲ τῶν ξένων πῶς;
ἐκεῖνοί Μένωνι τῷ Φαρσαλίῳ δώδεκα μὲν
τάλαντ' ἀργυρίου δόντι πρὸς τὸν ἐπ' Ἡρόνι
τῇ πρὸς Ἀμφιπόλει πόλεμον, τριακοσίοις
δ' ἱππεύσι πενέσταις ἰδίῳις βοηθήσαντι,
οὐκ ἐληφρίσαντο, αὐτὸν ἂν τις ἀποκτείνῃ,
ἀγώγιμον εἶναι, ἀλλὰ πολιτείαν ἔδωκαν
καὶ ταύτην ἱκανὴν ὑπελάμβανον εἶναι τὴν
τιμὴν. καὶ πάλιν Περόδικα τῷ κατὰ τὴν
βαρβάρου ποτ' ἐπιστρατεῖαν βασιλεύοντι
Μακεδονίας, τοὺς ἀναχωροῦντας ἐκ
Πλαταιῶν τῶν βαρβάρων —————
διαφθείραντι καὶ τέλειον τάττυγμα
ποιήσαντι τῷ βασιλεῖ, οὐκ ἐληφρίσαντο
ἀγώγιμον, ἂν τις ἀποκτείνῃ Περόδικον,
ὃ βασιλεὺς ἐχθρὸς δι' ἡμᾶς ἀπεδέδεικτο,
ἀλλὰ πολιτείαν ἔδωκαν μόνον. καὶ γὰρ
τοὶ τότε μὲν οὕτω τίμιον ἦν πᾶσιν
ἀνθρώποις τὸ γενέσθαι πολίταις παρ' ἡμῖν
ὥσθ' ὑπὲρ τοῦ τυχεῖν τούτου τηλικαυτῷ
ἡμᾶς ἀγάθ' ἦθελον ποιεῖν, νῦν δ' οὕτως....
Dem. xxiii, 198-200

This doublet is lengthy but must be looked at in full if the relationship between the two versions is to be understood. It is obvious that some two thirds of both texts are word-for-word identical and it should be added that both are represented by virtually unanimous MS traditions; such variations as do occur are minor and could even result, in some cases, from a copyist comparing our two texts. It is thus also obvious that the smaller portions which do not tally can be directly compared without the need to allow for variant readings in either case. These differences are indicated above either by underling the texts or by indicating the lengthy gaps.

The first two differences illustrate well the relationship of the two texts. It is clear that the text of xiii is dependent upon that of xxiii. They are here, however, printed in numerical order since the *περὶ συνταξέως* (xiii), whoever its author may have been, was placed earlier in the Demosthenic canon than the orator's *κατ' Ἀριστοκράτους* (xxiii) upon which it depends. This dependence may be shown by the omission of ὧς ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι in xiii, although it would be possible to see it as an unsurprising interjection in xxiii; the relation of the two texts

78 is, however, made really clear by the omission in xiii of λυσιτελούντως αὐτοῖς ἐδίδοσαν καὶ, which is obviously the result of a haplography of the immediately preceding καὶ, the copier having simply jumped from one καὶ to the next.

The third difference (διακοσίοις, xiii, vs. τριακοσίοις, xxiii) is difficult to comment upon. Confusions and errors with numbers are notoriously common in textual copying, and there is nothing intrinsic in either case to suggest a preference. Indeed, this variation is perhaps best seen as produced by a misreading in the one case or the other of a simple numeral sign (σ' or τ'), and thus datable to a minuscule stage of the textual transmission, rather than an original mistake.

It is the two large variations, about two-thirds of the way through the text and at its very end, which are the most revealing. Before considering these we should notice the two smaller differences which lie between them. Whereas the original xxiii uses πάλιν to introduce the case of 'Perdikkas' although this occurred much earlier than that of Menon to which reference has just been made, the writer of xiii 'corrects' the relative order of the two events by using the phrase πρότερον τούτου. A similar form of pedantry (or patriotic erudition?) may well explain the same writer's ἀπὸ τῆς ἡττης just a little later.

The two large variations are, at first sight, more difficult to understand and explain. In the original xxiii both Menon and 'Perdikkas' are not protected from assassination but are (simply) given πολιτεία, this being explained in each case as the appropriate or desirable recognition. In the dependent xiii we are told that both gentlemen were honoured *not* with πολιτεία but merely with ἀτέλεια, and only in the second case is any comment made upon the nature of this honour. The omission of the comment in the first case may be another slip by the second writer, and certainly his repeated phraseology οὐκ ἐψηφίσαντο πολιτεῖαν ἀλλ' ἀτέλειαν μόνον makes the second change read like a careless copying of his own change imported to the text a few lines earlier. As André Gerolymatos has pointed out in the preceding paper, the version of xxiii giving these people, especially the Makedonian king, πολιτεία is preferable on historical grounds, so we can continue to assume that xxiii is the original and xiii the dependent text: but what caused the author of xiii to make his changes and to introduce the idea of ἀτέλεια which nowhere occurs in xxiii?

The answer to the enigma may well lie at the very end of the citation of xiii, where, in his variant comment upon the nature of the honour, the author introduces the word εὐεργεσία. Is it possible that our erudite author is thinking of the *proxenia* normally (but not always) accompanied by *euergesia* and *ateleia*? This is even more understandable if our author lived in the Hellenistic period, for confusing πολιτεία with the various terms associated with προξενία would then not be surprising at all, since, in that period, *proxenia* and *politeia* were often awarded together, in distinction to the practice in earlier periods (Gschnitzer, 1974: 720-721).

It is in fact logical to see a Hellenistic writer as more concerned to clarify the details of Atheno-centric history (πρότερον τούτου and ἀπὸ τῆς ἡττης) for an audience no longer purely Athenian and thus not as aware of that city's detailed history than Demosthenes speaking simply to his compatriots. In that case, if we can understand the Attic orator's single original mistake as arising from his concern with the details of contemporary or recent events rather than the earlier chronology of the Makedonian royal house, how much more can we understand the failure of our posited Hellenistic pseudo-Demosthenes, for all his erudition, to correct that glaring error and write Alexandros for Perdikkas; his times were even more removed from the details of the earlier 5th century than was Demosthenes, even though the name of Plataiai could still ring a resounding bell.

Reference: F.Gschnitzer, s.v. 'Proxenos', *RE* suppl. xiii(1974), 631-730

Copyright (C) 1986 John M.Fossey

Review: E. RAWSON (Corpus Christi College, Oxford) LCM 11.5 (May 1986), 79-80 79
 B.A. Marshall, *A Historical Commentary on Asconius*, Columbia, U. of Missouri Press, 1985. Pp. xiv + 342, cloth. ISBN 0-8262-0455-4.

A new study of Asconius is to be welcomed; considering how much he is consulted, he is a singularly neglected author, reflecting the fact that the scholars of antiquity, their standards and procedures, have not yet been adequately investigated. M.'s revised Oxford dissertation is made up of two parts, an introduction of 80 pages, and then an historical commentary on Asconius' own historical commentary, insofar as it survives, on five speeches of Cicero. M. says that a commentary is not the place of 'idiosyncratic or debateable interpretations', and that he has tried to give a 'summary of problems and standard discussions of them', though he apologizes for gaps in the bibliography, due to the difficulties in consulting new, and especially foreign, works in Australia. It is true that a commentary may remain valuable even when its bibliography is out of date, though those which depend on the author's own mastery, like Shackleton Bailey's on Cicero's Letters, will survive better than those which put at least some of their eggs in the basket of extensive bibliographical expertise, like Briscoe's on Livy. M.'s work, though useful, is not in the class of either of these, and some of the bibliographical gaps remain surprising; was Stroh's *Taxis und Taktik* (1975) really not available when M. was accusing Asconius of misunderstanding the nature of *pro Cornelio* II?

The preface begins by showing that Asconius' work, as is generally recognized, originally dealt with a large number of Cicero's orations, and accepts the usual date for its composition (c.54-57 A.D.). It is satisfactory to have such a summary in English, for even this side of the world not everyone will have conveniently to hand the mostly German works of the nineteenth century, from Madvig onwards, which make up the bulk of what has been done on this author. A less allusive reference to the history of the text would be helpful, but one is glad to have for example the list of Asconian cross-references. But M. should be less respectful of Stangl's and Hildebrandt's claims (even though supported by Badian, *JRS* 63[1973]) to find Asconian material in the Scholia Bobiensia on the grounds that certain passages are 'reminiscent' of Asconius' style. The test must be the *pro Milone*, on which both Asconius and the Schol. Bob. comment; M. says that Schol. Bob. 115 1-2St. is 'presumably' taken from Asc. 33.4-5 and 42.16C., and Schol. Bob. 116 4-13St. from Asc. 43 3-18C.. I see little reason to presume it in the first case; in the second there is some similarity, but chiefly in the basic facts. Certainly one cannot argue from the two-fold lay-out of *argumentum* and *enarratio* (or as the Schol. Bob. have it, *explanatio*); this natural pattern is common to all the Ciceronian scholiasts. Conclusions as to commentaries by Asconius now lost are therefore risky, especially since Asconius may be less 'unique' in style than M. supposes (see below). He should also be more critical of Benario's sometimes very dubious arguments that Pseudo-Asconius also drew on Asconius; and of his notion that Asconius necessarily himself consulted the *Lex Acilia*.

M. then considers what we know of Asconius' life and his sources (noting his tendency to correct Fenestella) and finally lists and discusses all the passages where Asconius might possibly be thought to have made a mistake, reaching the grand total of 61, though he admits that a number are probably copyist's errors, and a number of others uncertain or venial. Nonetheless, he maintains that ever since Madvig there has been a tendency to exaggerate Asconius' reliability; this is perhaps the chief independent claim made in the book. Certainly no-one should be surprised at an ancient writer's occasional fallibility, and it is right that we should be warned not to treat the work as gospel; Asconius' dates, in particular, tend to be inaccurate. But M. is a bit hard on his subject. For example, Asconius' puzzlement at Cicero calling Placentia a *municipium*, not a colony, is put into the category of errors 'for which no mitigation can be found', though when we come to the commentary on the *In Pisonem* we find a fuller discussion which shows why Asconius thought as he did (though others of the 61 passages collected in the preface are passed over entirely in the commentary, while some get the same note in both places; in general there is an unnecessary amount of repetition, sometimes with disturbing minor variations). And M. forgets that Asconius was right in supposing that Livius Drusus' laws were held to have been passed *contra auspicia* — this is held to be another unmitigated error in the preface, though a way round it is found in the commentary. Nor can I see what is wrong with his saying that Philodemus' poems were *lasceiva*; the word is not a very strong one. To claim that Asconius was unable to criticize Cicero because he accepted his valuation of P. Clodius and others shows a lack of historical perspective; are

80 we to suppose that a Neronian senator (or at worst *domi nobilis*) could conceivably be a *popularis*? In fact, the sorts of mistakes, often mere oversimplifications or loose formulations, that Asconius makes are also made by M., careful scholar though he is: Appius Claudius did not seduce Verginia, and a few misprints have been passed (M. Gravius Apicius). If Asconius is gappy and arbitrary in his choice of passage to discuss, so sometimes is M. — there is nothing on Asconius' obvious (and justified) doubt as to whether the *de optimo genere oratorum* was really by Cicero. If Asconius is sometimes uncritical of his sources, so we have seen is M.. Doubtless we are all guilty of the same crimes.

It would be helpful to place Asconius in his intellectual context by more than a brief sketch of Roman education as it will have been experienced by his sons, to whom he dedicated his work (and, in noting some of the difficulties under which ancient scholars worked, it is unnecessary to suppose that Asconius could only read his own or his friends' books — there were now public libraries in Rome). Now long ago Leo (*Ausgewählte Kleine Schriften* II 387) took the crucial step of comparing Didymus on Demosthenes, as we know him from the Berlin Papyrus, with Asconius on Cicero; both, unlike most ancient commentators, who tend to be interested in glossographic or rhetorical points, are almost solely concerned with historical and antiquarian matters, and comment on a rather idiosyncratic choice of *lemmata*, which are quoted in full, sometimes at some length. It has more than once been assumed since Leo's time that the famous Didymus (a figure familiar to Latin authors of the first century) was Asconius' model. This may be right, but Asconius may have been working in what was now something of a tradition, and there are in fact differences between the two, not brought out by Leo: Didymus is vastly more discursive, and quotes both historians and poets verbatim, often quite lengthily; Asconius tends to give a brief precis of what his sources say. Leo argued that the *περί Δημοσθένους*, from which our papyrus comes, was not the same as Didymus' commentary, *ὑπομνήματα*, on the orator's works, but an example of a different genre, designed to be read without a text to hand; he does not consider Asconius' work in this context, and we do not know its title, but it clearly is a real commentary, as its interesting attempt to give precise references for its *lemmata* shows (if these references, which attracted the interest of Ritschl and others in the nineteenth century, go back to Asconius himself, and there is no real reason to think they do not): there seem to be no parallels for this attempt to give line references to a text which clearly did not have line numbers, for Asconius counts backwards from the end as well as forwards, to meet 'about the middle'. In fact, Stephanie West (*CQ* ns20 [1970], 291) has shown that Leo's definition of *ὑπομνήματα* is too narrow; she has also argued that Didymus the Chalcenic was (not surprisingly) a hasty and careless scholar — indeed, we might argue that Asconius was rather better than his famous predecessor. Not that it makes any sense to say, as M. does, that he was 'perhaps unique' in the precision of his references to his sources — book numbers are also given, sporadically, by Didymus, by the Scholia Bobiensia to Cicero, by A. Gellius and by a horde of grammarians, as a glance at Maurenbrecher's Sallust or Peter's *HRR* would have been enough to show. Not by the historians, of course; but M. does not seem clear as to the difference of genre, which must operate even in the narrative parts of the *argumenta*.

It is true that Asconius is called a *vir historicus* by Jerome. Why, when all his known works seem to be firmly in the tradition of the *grammatici*? One may perhaps compare what is said of Varro, who also did not write real history; it may be relevant that one could not call a gentleman, who did not teach, a *grammaticus* — Suetonius is reduced to periphrases when dealing with Stilo and his son-in-law in the *De gramm.*. Perhaps also if a gentleman wrote a commentary — a form that suggests the actual teacher — he was wise to make it clear he had done it for his sons (Macrobius dedicates his commentary on the *Somnium Scipionis* to his son, though a philosophic commentary is a rather different matter).

M. might object that all this is simply not what he is interested in; that is the historical aspect. He is known as a meticulous investigator of the fine detail of events and persons in the late Republic, and he has disentangled problems arising from these in some valuable articles. Fine detail is what the bulk of the commentary is concerned with, and it is scholarly and careful; I have already found profit in using it. Perhaps M. is not very sensitive to Latin: I would have liked to be told of the implications of the words *Hispanus* and *Gallicanus*, and there is nothing 'unusual' in the singular form of Atticus' *Annalis*, since it was in one book. The English style is certainly unsophisticated, among other oddities being extraordinarily tolerant of repeated words and phrases.